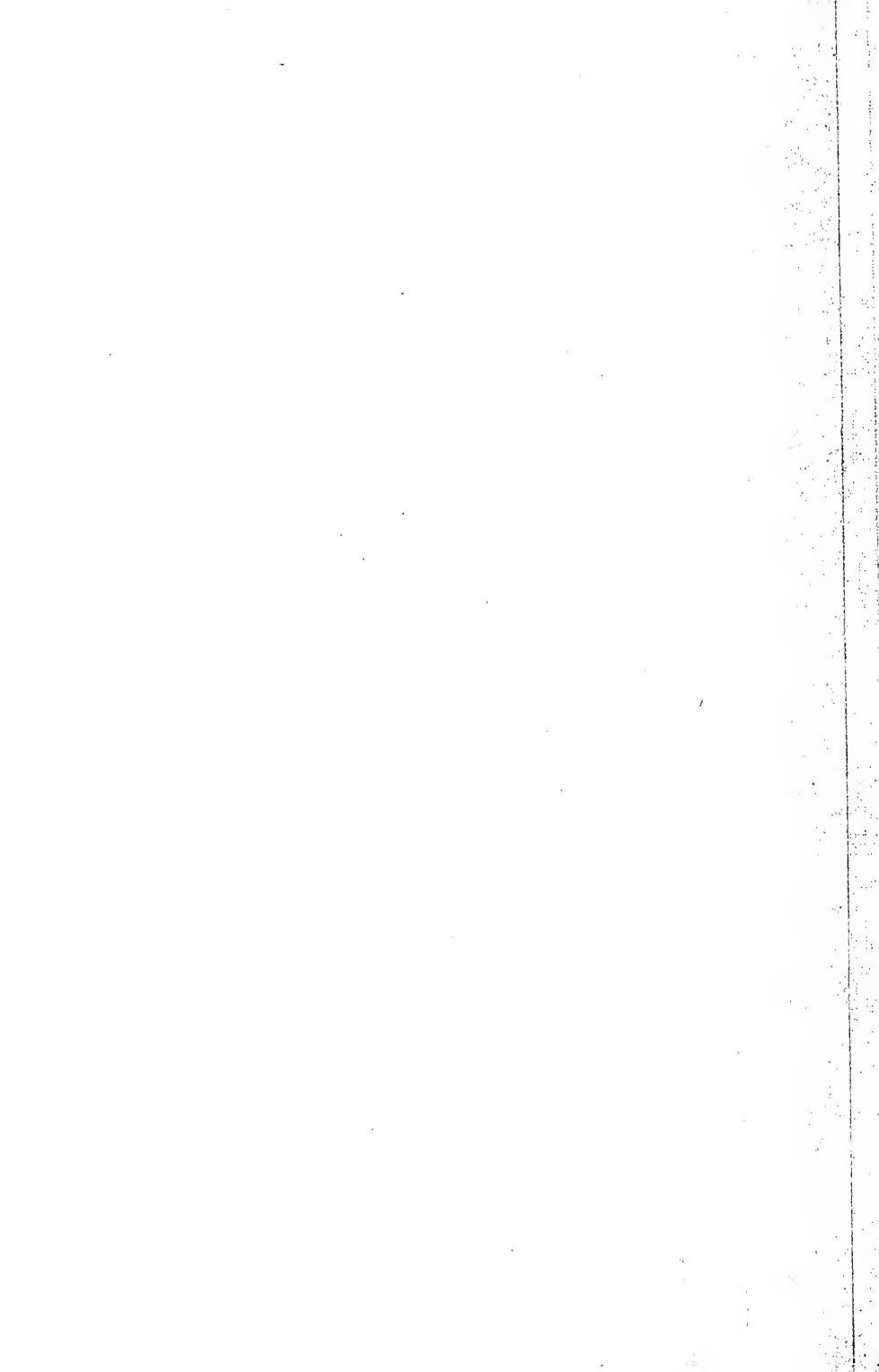


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BELMONT

Joseph A. Choate Esq
with the respectful regards of
August Belmont



LETTERS AND SPEECHES.

[PRIVATELY PRINTED.]

A FEW

LETTERS AND SPEECHES

OF

THE LATE CIVIL WAR.



NEW YORK.

1870.

THIS pamphlet, which is privately printed, contains a few letters, chosen from among hundreds, and a few speeches, selected out of many, that were written or uttered by their author during the time that he has had the honor to be intrusted with an official position in the Democratic party—namely, the Chairmanship of its National Committee.

It was a circumstance incident to any faithful discharge of that responsible duty, during so exciting and momentous an era in the history of the United States as that through which they have but lately passed or are passing, that his opinions and conduct should be often misrepresented and sometimes misunderstood.

The following pages will suffice to correct such errors, should they ever approach a lodgment in the minds of those with whom alone such errors now can be of any importance to him,—his children, and his personal or political friends; and will disclose to such of these as care to concern themselves about the matter, the ends which, as a citizen and as a member of a noble and time-honored party he has had in view, as well as something of the means by which, in his humble sphere and imperfect way, he has striven to attain them.

AUGUST BELMONT.

NEW YORK, JUNE, 1870.

LETTERS.

TO JOHN FORSYTH,

Mobile, Ala.

NEW YORK, November 22, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have followed, with the most intense anxiety, the events which the election of Lincoln has called forth at the South. While I fully appreciate the legitimate grievances of your section of the country, I deprecate sincerely the means which a large portion of your citizens seem determined to adopt for their redress.

Nobody can regret more than I do the election of Lincoln, and I certainly need not tell you how earnestly I strove to prevent that calamity; but now that we are defeated, I think that it behooves every good Democrat, North and South, to reflect calmly upon what course it will be most wise and patriotic to pursue, in order to guard against the evils with which a Republican administration threatens our country. I take it for granted that a large majority of our Southern brethren are in favor of the Union, provided they can have their rights secured under the Constitution, and their property protected against the inroads of Northern Abolitionism. I hope and trust that the disunionists *per se* stand alone in their conspiracy against the Union, which they have labored to undermine for the last twenty years. Unfortunately, they have been able to bring a large number of the patriotic men of the South to the belief that Lincoln's election is a convincing proof of an overwhelming anti-slavery feeling at the North; but this is by no means the case, and it is evident that the unfortunate result of the late election was mainly owing to other causes.

The country at large had become disgusted with the misrule of Mr. Buchanan, and the corruption which disgraced his administration. The Democratic party was made answerable for his misdeeds, and a change was ardently desired by thousands of conservative men out of politics. This feeling was particularly strong in the rural districts, and did us infinite harm there.

Had we made an unanimous nomination at Charleston, we should most probably have overcome our opponents; though, for the reason just named, our struggle must have, in any event, been a severe one. But unfortunate dissensions paralyzed our forces at the very outset. When the delegates of the cotton States, under the leadership of Yancey, seceded at Charleston, breaking up the National Convention, they sealed the doom of the Democratic party, and elected Mr. Lincoln. Will the people of the South now allow these very men to reap the fruits of their reckless course by aiding and sustaining them in their efforts to shatter the magnificent fabric of our Union, which has blessed until now this vast Republic with never-equalled greatness and prosperity? Is Mr. Yancey's programme to precipitate the South into a revolution, to be carried out by those patriots who, with you, have thus far so nobly fought against him and his nefarious doctrines? Is it statesmanlike, is it manly, to withdraw from the contest when it becomes most fierce, and when victory (*not of an ephemeral power and patronage, but of lasting guaranties and principles*) is within our grasp? Is it generous and kind to leave the brave and loyal men of the North, who have stood by you and your rights, and have led a forlorn hope against the most fearful odds—is it right and just, I say, to forsake them in the hour of need, and doom them to a hopeless minority?

If the Southern character is prominent for any qualities more than others, it is for unflinching courage and noble generosity. These virtues have taught me to cherish and honor the chivalrous South, and I appeal through you to those sentiments, that our Southern friends may pause before leaving the field to their enemies, and abandoning their faithful allies to the mercy of a ruthless victor.

But while I implore them to pause, I am far from wishing them to retrace their steps. A firm, uncompromising, and united position must secure to them their rights and equality under the Constitution. The conservative mind at the North is anxious and ready to co-operate with them, and the reaction which has already taken place among thousands who voted for Lincoln, promises most conclusively a satisfactory solution of our troubles. Only, do not allow the violent men among you to force the Southern people under the whip of packed conventions, into any hasty and inconsiderate steps. No convention should be formed unless by a direct appeal to the people, and in such a convention every slaveholding State should be represented. This, I am sure, would, under the recommendation of Congress and local

legislatures, soon be followed by a general convention of all the States of the Union.

The faithful enforcement of the fugitive-slave law, and the equal rights of the States in the Territories, must, and will, be guaranteed to the South,—not by any enactments and compromises of Congress, which might at any time be repealed and tampered with, but by amendments to the Constitution of such a nature as to silence forever the just apprehensions of the South.

Upon the leading national men of the South devolves now the sacred duty of stemming the torrent of terrorism, conjured up by rash, politicians. The time for a satisfactory settlement of these vital questions has never been more propitious. We have both houses of Congress on our side, and the conservative spirit of the country is appalled at the contemplation of our portentous future.

Already, now, the more moderate organs of the Republican party give strong evidence of this feeling. I hand you inclosed an extract from the *New York Times*, of yesterday, recommending measures of compromise and justice to the South. The article receives additional importance from the fact that the editor of the *Times* is one of the leading lights among the Republicans.

Excuse this lengthy epistle ; but the subject is fraught with such deep interest that volumes would not exhaust it. I hope you will find a few moments of leisure to let me hear from you, and I trust that you may, by God's blessing, be able to give me cheerful tidings.

TO THE HON. HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON,

Speir's Turnout, Jefferson City, Ga.

NEW YORK, November 22, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have seen with great satisfaction that amidst all the turmoil of passionate madness, fed by the incendiary speeches of Yancey and Toombs, your patriotic voice is loud in favor of the Union.

Heaven grant that the wise counsels of such men as you, and the noble Alex. Stephens, may be listened to, and that our Southern brethren may act firmly and manly, but without precipitation. In that case all must in the end come right, and the South will ride triumphantly through the storm.

My only fear is that the secession leaders, reckless of patriotic considerations, and only bent upon the accomplishment of their treasonable ends, may succeed in manufacturing packed conventions in South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, for the purpose of precipitating secession *without an appeal to the people*.

This ought to be prevented at all hazards, and I hope that you, and other patriotic leaders, will rouse the people of your State to a full appreciation of the nefarious game played by their pretended friends. I have expressed my views more at length in a letter, which I addressed to-day to Mr. Forsyth, and of which I beg to hand you a copy.

The South has got the game in her own hands, and it is for her to choose whether to give peace and greatness to our common country, *while at the same time securing for herself every Constitutional right*, or whether to bury us all in one desolating ruin, which would be to the enemies of human liberty a vindication of the justice of their uncompromising opposition to self-government. The dissolution of the American Union is the death-knell of human liberty.

TO JULIUS IZARD PRINGLE,

Charleston, S. C.

NEW YORK, November 26, 1860.

DEAR PRINGLE,—I note the contents of your note of the 22d inst. The present political and financial crisis will, I trust, soon pass over and every thing turn back to its regular channels.

It will then appear clearly *a qui la faute* of the calamities which have overtaken us, and to which you allude in your letter. My convictions on that point have never changed.

We are cursed with *two sets of Abolitionists in this country*, and until they are crushed out of political existence, our onward march as a great and prosperous nation must be retarded, and the foundations of the Union and Constitution undermined. They are the fanatical *Abolitionists of slavery*, led by Sumner and other demagogues, and *the selfish and short-sighted Abolitionists of the Union*, under the leadership of Yancey, Rhett, and Toombs. If the conservative spirit of our people North and South cannot silence forever the howlings of these false prophets, we are all doomed to leave an inheritance of ruin and blood to our children, who otherwise might have grown up as citizens and brethren of the freest and mightiest empire upon which God's sun ever shed its radiant lustre.

I have embodied my views on the present crisis in a letter, which I addressed a few days ago to Mr. Forsyth, in Alabama, and of which I hand you inclosed a copy.

The hour is dark, but I do not yet despair entirely of the patriotism and good sense of the American people.

TO JOHN C. BRADLEY,

Huntsville, Ala.

NEW YORK, November 28, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 23d inst., and am rejoiced to see that the conservative men of your part of the country have moved in the right direction.

The patriotic men of the country look to the Douglas and Bell party of the South as their only hope in the present crisis. Yancey and his compeers, by seceding at Charleston, broke up the Democratic party, and were the *chief means of Lincoln's election*.

It is clear now that this was the programme, in order to throw the cotton States into their hands, and force a dissolution of the Union by terrorism and packed conventions.

If there is conservative spirit and love of the Union enough left in the South to prevent them from carrying out their treasonable schemes, all may be saved yet.

A convention of all the Southern States would certainly save us. It would be followed by a convention of all the States North and South, where the guaranties which the South has a right to demand, would be sure to be granted to her under the Constitution.

I inclose you copy of a letter which I addressed a few days ago to John Forsyth, embodying my views on the present crisis. If you think proper you may show it to such friends as are with us in sentiment.

TO WILLIAM MARTEN,

Charleston, S. C.

NEW YORK, November 30, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter, and you will have heard from my house, that we are entirely satisfied with the execution of our small exchange orders.

The unfortunate state of our politics, which in your State particularly have assumed a most threatening aspect, prevents us, to my great regret, from renewing our orders for the moment. It is also impossible for us to hold out any hopes for the present, as to our being able to do any thing in your market after the secession of your State, which you predict as certain to take place very shortly.

My heart misgives me when I think of the terrible consequences which the present action of your leading men must inevitably bring upon every section of our common country.

I have written my views on the subject a few days ago to a friend in Alabama, and beg to hand you a copy of my letter.

The idea of separate confederacies living in peace and prosperity on this continent, after a dissolution of the Union, is too preposterous to be entertained by any man of sound sense, and the slightest knowledge of history.

Secession means civil war, to be followed by a total disintegration of the whole fabric, after endless sacrifices of blood and treasure. If patriotism and love of the Union will not make people pause in their mad career, I hope they may not lose the instinct of self-preservation.

Can you tell me where Governor Aiken is at present? I addressed him a letter a week ago, to Charleston. Do you think it will reach him?

TO GOVERNOR WM. SPRAGUE,

Providence, R. I.

NEW YORK, December 6, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—The deep solicitude which the events in the South must call forth in the breast of every American citizen induces me to address you these lines.

The secession of South Carolina, which must be looked upon now as an accomplished fact, will *inevitably* very soon be followed by the secession of all the cotton States, and a consequent dissolution of the whole Confederacy, unless prompt and energetic measures are taken by the leading men of the North, in order to prevent this fearful calamity.

Even the most fervent adherents of the Union in the border States despair of the possibility of maintaining their States within the Union, unless the just grievances of the South are remedied by early and prompt action.

At this moment the patriotic men in the gulf States are using every effort, in order to bring about a joint convention. In this they are violently opposed by the disunionists, who are for immediate and separate action. The latter are undoubtedly in the ascendancy, and unless some action is at once taken at the North which will strengthen the hands of our friends, *no earthly power can save the Union*.

If the programme of the co-operation men, composed of the Bell and Douglas leaders, succeeds, then South Carolina would for the present be the only State which actually secedes. The other gulf States would declare in this convention the conditions upon which they can remain in the Union, and if these cannot be obtained from the conservative spirit of the North, they will follow South Carolina on the 4th of March next.

These conditions are—

1st, The repeal of the unconstitutional personal-liberty bills by those States which have passed them.

2d, The acknowledgment of the equal rights of the South in the Territories.

My own impression is that if, by the spontaneous action of the legislatures of even a portion of the Northern States, in repealing these objectionable laws, a spirit of returning justice were evinced, the question of the Territories might be settled by a compromise, to be embodied in the Constitution, based upon the old Missouri line, to be extended to the Pacific.

You are in the proud and enviable position to lead this movement, which alone can save our beloved Republic from utter ruin and desolation.

The good old State of Rhode Island has been ever foremost in her loyalty and attachment to the Union, and she will, under your guidance, lead her sister States of New England to that path of fraternal equity toward the South, which can alone restore peace and harmony to our distracted country.

If your legislature would, at your recommendation, efface from the statute-book of the State the objectionable personal-liberty bill, her example would soon be followed by all the other States, and this spontaneous act of justice would, I have little doubt, induce Congress to amend the fugitive-slave bill, so as to take from it what is now looked upon by many people of the North as revolting to their feelings.

Prompt and *efficient* action is, however, indispensable; any delay is fatal in the present state of feeling at the South. My humble suggestion to you would be to convene your legislature at as early a day as practicable. You have it now in your power to earn for yourself the eternal gratitude of every American heart, and a name in the annals of your country more imperishable than that of the proudest conqueror.

I have to crave your pardon for the liberty which I have taken in addressing you these respectful suggestions. The vital importance of the case must plead as my excuse.

TO GOVERNOR WM. SPRAGUE,

Providence, R. I.

NEW YORK, December 13, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am much obliged for your favor of 10th inst., but regret that you take the view that the repeal of the personal-liberty bill, by your State, at this moment could be looked upon as a concession made under the pressure and influence of fear and threats.

The secession movement of the South has lost all the character of bluster and threat, which our Northern friends supposed too long was its principal element. The most conservative men have joined in it, right or wrong; they feel that their institutions and property are not any longer safe within the Union, and that self-preservation commands action before the Federal power passes into hands which they take for granted are hostile to their section. They do not threaten, but they want to be allowed to go out peaceably. The great majority are for immediate action, but the Union men are striving to postpone secession if possible until the 4th of March.

In this they can only succeed if aided by the North. The action which I suggested to you would go very far toward paving the way to a satisfactory solution of our present difficulties. You, yourself, think that the personal-liberty bills are unconstitutional. If they are wrong, why then wait one moment to do what is right?

Neither a State nor an individual can ever suffer in public opinion by doing what is right, and the more spontaneous the acknowledgment of an error is, the higher will it be appreciated. Here is what Herschel V. Johnson, one of the most patriotic and able men of the South, writes to me on this subject only a few days ago. After giving a most dispassionate description of the present state of affairs, and the dangers which surround us, he says:—

“What is to be done? The Union is in danger, how can it be saved? In my judgment there is but one way, and I fear that may be too late. Those non-slaveholding States, whose legislatures have

enacted them, must repeal their personal-liberty bills, and all acts of every kind which obstruct and prevent the faithful execution of the fugitive-slave law.

"I do not say they should do this under the influence of fear, nor even because the South may demand it, but because it is right; it will be but a voluntary return to a correct sense of Constitutional obligation, and a renewal of that spirit of brotherhood from which the Union sprang, and without which it cannot be perpetuated. Such action, voluntarily taken, will be far more salutary upon the popular mind of the South, than if taken at the end of a bitter contest," etc.

I can assure you, my dear sir, that all the leaders of the Republican party in our State and city, with a few exceptions of the ultra radicals, are in favor of concessions, and that the popular mind of the North is ripe for them. A prompt action by you will be universally hailed with joy and gratitude, while a tardy compliance with the popular will can but have comparatively small merit. Public men, placed as prominently as you are, *must lead and not follow*, if they want to make their mark.

TO GOVERNOR WM. SPRAGUE,
Providence, R. I.

NEW YORK, December 19, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been confined to my bed for the last few days, and therefore was unable to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of 16th inst. before this.

I hail with the most heartfelt satisfaction the expression of your intention to call at once your legislature together for the purpose of having the personal-liberty bill of your State repealed, and I hope sincerely that mature reflection will have confirmed you in that wise and patriotic resolve.

You must see all around you evidences of a healthy reaction in the Northern sentiment, and a return to that spirit of equity and justice which alone can keep the two sections together.

In Boston, and throughout Massachusetts, the leading men of both parties are loud in their clamors for a repeal of the personal-liberty bill of that State. Last evening I was present at an informal meeting of about thirty gentlemen, comprising our leading men, Republicans, Union men, and Democrats, composed of such names as Astor, Aspinwall, Moses H. Grinnell, Hamilton Fish, R. M. Blatchford, etc. They were unanimous in their voice for reconciliation, and that the first steps have to be taken by the North.

A very strong memorial, to be signed by all the leading men of both parties who are for the maintenance of the Union, is now preparing, and will be forthwith sent to Washington.

I think I speak advisedly in saying that Governor Morgan will take very decided grounds in favor of concessions in his annual message, on the 2d of January.

The ball is moving, and our public men must take their choice of three alternatives, viz.: to lead, to follow, or to be left behind with a small and despised faction of fanatics, who never will be able to stand up against the torrent of public indignation which is sure to overtake them.

I need not point out to you the course which lies before you. Your high intelligence and patriotism are your safe guides, and I trust implicitly to them, that they will, with God's blessing, make you a prominent instrument in the salvation of our country.

TO THURLOW WEED,

Albany, N. Y.

NEW YORK, December 19, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—Allow me, though a comparative stranger, to express to you the heartfelt satisfaction with which I have read your very able and patriotic article of last Monday.

The statesmanlike view which you take of our present difficulties, and the wise and conciliatory course which you, with so much truth, counsel as the only remedy which can save this great Republic from untold calamities, must command, not only the warm support of your friends, but also the unqualified respect and admiration of your opponents.

As one of the latter, it gives me much pleasure to convey to you my sincere assurances of these feelings.

I have fought to the last against the great party, of which you have proved so formidable a leader, but I shall never regret our defeat if your wise counsels prevail, and with God's blessing peace and concord are restored, under Mr. Lincoln's administration, to our distracted country.

TO JOHN FORSYTH,

Mobile, Ala.

NEW YORK, December 19, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your favor of 8th inst. reached me a few days ago, but I was prevented by indisposition from replying to it before. It was very gratifying that you should have deemed my last letter to you of sufficient import to give it a place in your journal, but I regret deeply that so far from advocating the policy of co-operation, and deliberate, united action by the Southern States, for which I appealed to your support, I find your paper as warmly and uncompromisingly for immediate and unconditional secession as ever Yancey has been.

When we Douglas men of the North stood by our colors against the combined onslaughts of the Black Republicans and the administration, we were upheld in our struggle by the consciousness that we were fighting the battle of the Union and the Constitution against fanaticism North and sectionalism South. We fought to the last, and hopefully to the end, because we trusted that our friends at the South would never forsake that glorious cause, even in defeat, which our noble banner-bearer had so fearlessly defended during the canvass in every Northern and Southern State.

Douglas declared repeatedly in that memorable campaign, that the election of Mr. Lincoln was not, in his judgment, a justifiable ground for secession. How do those stand now before the country, who, after having been the most prominent instruments of his nomination, and having adhered to him after this declaration, and now, because he is defeated, forsake the Union-loving principles which were the main hold he had upon the American people? I know that the disunionists at the South taunt those who counsel the more wise, efficient, and patriotic course of seeking redress *within* the Union, by calling them "*sub-missionists*;" but I, for one, would most certainly rather submit to the constitutional election of an opponent than to the terrorism evoked by a faction whose treasonable designs my best efforts had been exerted to defeat.

Both Mr. Bell and Mr. Douglas have, since the election, spoken warmly and manfully for the Union. Their adherents at the North, in the middle States, are proud and rejoiced at the stand these statesmen have taken; but how can our friends in the cotton States reconcile their actions of to-day with their professions only a few months back? I have read with great attention the leader from your paper, which you sent me, but I am sorry to say that I cannot in any way coincide with your views. I do not, and never will, believe that Lincoln's election is an evidence of the overwhelming anti-slavery feeling at the North.

The principal battle was fought in our State; had we succeeded here, Mr. Lincoln could not have been elected. Now, it is well known that until within one short fortnight of the election, we were hopelessly divided, with the whole power of the administration against us. Disorganized, and wholly without means for even the most essential expenses of a campaign, we were forced into a fusion on the very eve of battle. With no earthly possibility of electing either of our three candidates, with a hasty and incomplete organization, and with the baneful influence of the October elections in Pennsylvania, Maine, and Indiana, brought about by the treachery of the administration, against us, with a great want of the necessary pecuniary means (the whole sum raised for the fusion ticket did not amount to \$50,000 all told), with all these difficulties against us what did we do? Why, we polled 317,000 votes in our State for the fusion ticket, 30,000 more votes than were ever given before by the united Democratic party, when we gave the State to Pierce by 23,000 majority.

In a vote of 700,000, a change of 26,000 votes, say less than four per cent., would have given us the State. More than four per cent., by far, were made up of men who voted for Lincoln because they were disgusted with the administration, while thousands and thousands were led into the mistake of voting with the Republicans, though not holding one single principle in common with them, because they knew that Lincoln was the only candidate who could be elected by the people, and considered that the greatest evil which could befall the country would be an election by the House.

Hundreds of men holding sound principles on the Constitutional rights of the South, were, to my certain knowledge, led into that mistake. They had been told by a distinguished Senator from one of the cotton States, as late as last May, in a speech delivered in the halls or

Congress, and sent in hundreds of thousands all over the country, that Mr. Lincoln had proved himself, in his controversy with Douglas, in 1858, a very conservative and unobjectionable man to the South, as compared with the latter. Why should they not vote for him now, and so prevent the terrible excitement and prostration of all material interests, which a contested election in Congress, dragged on until next March, would inevitably bring upon the country? I have had to fight these arguments over and over again before the election, and meet daily now with men who confess the error they have been led into, and almost with tears in their eyes, wish they could undo what they helped to do.

No, my dear sir, the evidence is too clear; we owe the election of Lincoln only to the misrule of the present administration, and to the unfortunate dissensions in our own party. If, as you say, the public mind had become vitiated by the incendiary teachings of the Abolition press, there can be, on the other hand, no denying that a healthy reaction is overtaking us with giant steps. Look at the late scenes in Boston, hitherto the *sanctum sanctorum* of Abolitionism; look at their municipal elections.

If I only could have you here for a few days, I am sure you would be convinced, and agree with me, that the surest redress for the South is *within* the Union. The ball is in motion, and nothing can stop it *except the inconsiderate and hasty action of the South herself*. If it has taken the Abolition press and pulpit forty years to poison a portion of the public mind at the North, do we ask you too much by entreating you to give us only three months, in order to remedy this evil?

Mr. Toombs himself proposes now that Georgia should not secede from the Union until the 3d of March, and I certainly think that nobody can be charged with lukewarmness in the South by following his advice.

If Georgia and Alabama will leave South Carolina to pursue her own mad career alone, and declare in convention that they will secede on the 3d of March, unless their rights in the Territories are guaranteed to them, under the Constitution, and the personal-liberty bills of some of the Northern States are repealed, I have a strong hope that we may save the Union, and place Southern rights on a sound and lasting footing. I know that powerful agencies among the Republican leaders in our State, and elsewhere, are now at work, which look to that end. Weed is out boldly and fearlessly for such a policy, and I

have every reason to believe that he will ere long be powerfully supported.

Now, one more point which I cannot leave unnoticed in the article which you send me, and then I will not trouble you any longer.

You charge the desire for concessions, on the part of the North, to mercenary motives. I think this is unkind to your friends, and certainly unfair as regards my own State and city.

We are actuated by principles of right and justice, but above all rises the warm and undying attachment to the Union, which with me, and all those who unite in my efforts for the good cause, is unsullied by one mean or sordid motive. If it were otherwise, and if we did only look to our own material interests, and those of our city, we should not deplore the dissolution of the Union. New York, in such a catastrophe, would cut loose from the puritanical East, and her protective tariff, and without linking her fortunes with our kind but somewhat exacting Southern friends, she would open her magnificent port to the commerce of the world. What Venice was once on the sluggish lagoons of the small Adriatic, New York would ere long become to the two hemispheres, proudly resting on the bosom of the broad Atlantic, and I am afraid sadly interfering with the brilliant but fallacious hopes of the Palmetto and Crescent cities.

I prefer, however, to leave to my children, instead of the gilded prospects of New York merchant princes, the more enviable title of American citizens, and as long as God spares my life I shall not falter in my efforts to preserve to them that heritage.

TO THE HON. S. A. DOUGLAS,
Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, December 26, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have not written to you during all the troubles which have overtaken us since the unfortunate result of the election.

You, whose patriotic heart beats warmly for our beloved Union, must feel deeply the terrible situation into which we have been thrown by fanatical sectionalism.

I did not like to add to your anguish by any expressions of the dark forebodings with which I look to the future. I cannot, however, refrain from expressing to you my warm and heartfelt admiration for the able and patriotic position which you have taken on Mr. Crittenden's propositions.

In giving to them your support, and in voting for the restoration of the Missouri compromise line to be carried out to the Pacific, you have given an example of heroic and patriotic self-denial which entitles you to the gratitude of the whole American people.

I have heard your conduct commended in the warmest terms by those who opposed your nomination and election during the late campaign.

Your friends are proud to see the man of their choice rise above every other consideration but that of devotion to the Union, and regret only that your noble example has not yet been followed by any of the leaders in whose hands are now the destinies of the Republic. If your propositions, which I have read with great interest, or those of Mr. Crittenden, could but receive the unanimous support of the Senatorial committee of thirteen, the Union might be saved, otherwise I cannot see one ray of hope.

The Republican leaders seem utterly blind to the dangers which they have begirt us all with, and though a few of the more conservative ones hold out fair promises, I do not believe that the party intends making any concessions.

TO THE HON. J. J. CRITTENDEN,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, December 26, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—Please accept my respectful thanks for the copy of your compromise propositions, which you were kind enough to send me under your frank.

I have yet to meet the first conservative Union-loving man, in or out of politics, who does not approve of them, and consider them as a most efficacious, if not the only remedy, which can save this great country from ruin and destruction.

Your patriotic course is warmly commended by the good men of all parties, and though your noble efforts may prove of no avail against the sectional fanaticism conjured up by designing politicians, the lasting gratitude of every American citizen, who has the greatness of his country at heart, is due to your statesmanlike stand in defense of the Union and the Constitution.

I am afraid that no human power can stay the evil, since the Republican leaders, by their vote in the committee of thirteen, have proved that they are determined to remain deaf to the dictates of justice and patriotism.

Will the American people permit their country to be dragged to ruin by a handful of puritanical fanatics and selfish politicians.

It cannot, it must not be! We can only look for help now to the conservative spirit of the border and middle States, and I trust that prominent and leading men, like yourself, may find early means to make a direct appeal to that spirit by a convention of those States.

I have read with much interest the pamphlet, entitled *The Border States*, which is attributed to the Hon. J. P. Kennedy, of Maryland. Its suggestions are practical and statesmanlike, and I hope they may find an echo in your State, and in Virginia.

TO THE HON. HERSCHEL V. JOHNSON,

Speir's Turnout, Jefferson County, Ga.

NEW YORK, December 30, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—Since I wrote you last, I have seen, with much pleasure, that you have been elected a member of your State convention. Your eloquence and popularity will give you great influence in that body; I still have hopes that your wise counsel will be listened to, and that the empire State of the South will not allow herself to be dragged into a precipitate and hasty action by the example of South Carolina. It is impossible to contemplate the events which are now enacting in Charleston without feeling, as a true friend of the South, the deepest regret and the most fearful apprehensions.

Never was a good and righteous cause so much damaged as the just claims of the whole South for its Constitutional rights are at this moment by the revolutionary movement of South Carolina.

Mr. Gorter showed me, a few days ago, a letter of yours, recently written to his father-in-law. You give, indeed, a gloomy picture of the state of feeling in Georgia. If your anxious forebodings should really prove true, and the advocates of immediate and separate secession should carry the day in your convention, then this great and prosperous Republic is doomed to pass under all the horrors of anarchy and civil war.

To us conservative men of the North, who have fought the battles of the South for many years, and though defeated now, are still unconquered, it is a sad and incomprehensible spectacle to see the ferocity with which your great State rushes into the secession movement, at the example, nay, I may say, under the *dictation* of South Carolina. We cannot understand that the same policy should be pursued by two States whose vital interests are so different, and whom we have learned to look upon as rivals, just as their seaports, Savannah and Charleston, are rivals, for commercial supremacy.

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It appears to me very probable that the government, being averse to adopting any aggressive action against South Carolina, will most likely, upon her taking possession of the custom-house, annex Charleston to Savannah as a port of entry. This course plainly could be adopted only in the event that Georgia delays the final act of secession. The impetus which such a state of things would give to the growth of Savannah would be lasting, while its immediate effect would be to open the eyes of the people of Georgia to the advantages of adhering to the Union.

The second sober thought and the practical sense of the American people would undoubtedly unite the whole of Georgia upon the policy of *co-operation with all the slaveholding States*, if a free discussion of these vital questions were possible at this moment. It is, however, very clear to us here at the North, that a *reign of terror* exists at the South which silences the voice of every conservative patriot, and renders it impossible for the people to arrive at a correct judgment.

The members of the convention have been elected under this state of things, and I fear the worst unless you and Stephens can stem the torrent. I hope that your united influence will be exerted to the effect of having *the final action of the convention submitted to the people for their final ratification*. This would not be asking too much, or any thing to which the people are not fully entitled. It is the course which has been generally pursued by all conventions for the amendment or formation of a constitution, in nearly all the States. It seems to me that when a convention passes an ordinance of secession, it takes a step fraught with the most fearful consequences, and it cannot hesitate to submit that act to the people for their ratification.

It would be no more than fair to the people, although very disagreeable to the *precipitate* gentlemen of the Yancey school. It would give time to reflect, and as the vote would be simply *yea* or *nay*, would be free of that active and partisan canvass which existed upon the election of rival delegates.

Pray let me know whether, in your judgment, this should not be attempted, and whether you think it could not be carried. Every day which can be gained is of immense importance. Though the Republican leaders in Congress have thus far disappointed my expectations, I have strong hopes that they will be compelled to yield under the pressure of public opinion.

In our own city and State some of the most prominent men are

ready to follow the lead of Weed, and active agencies are at work to bring about a compromise. Last week the governors of seven Republican States were here in caucus, and I am credibly informed by a leading Republican, that they will all recommend to their legislatures, in their opening messages next month, the *unconditional* and *early* repeal of the personal-liberty bills, passed by their respective States, without waiting for any amendment of the fugitive-slave law by Congress. In regard to the Territories, the restoration of the Missouri line, extended to the Pacific, finds favor with most of the conservative Republicans, and their number is increasing daily.

I sent you the day before yesterday a pamphlet, entitled *The Border States*. It is written by John P. Kennedy, of Maryland, and evinces great statesmanship and elevation of thought. I recommend it to your attentive perusal. It seems to me almost impossible that such appeals should remain unheeded by so intelligent, high-toned, and patriotic a people as our Southern brethren.

Do they not see that secession is exactly what the Abolition party desires most to see, in order to perpetuate the reign of their party, and its nefarious principles. They know that they can never attain this in the present Union, and are therefore content to have their sway in the remaining half, sure to crush the national Democracy when once deprived of its Southern support.

I hope you will find leisure to let me hear from you, etc.

TO THE HON. S. A. DOUGLAS,
Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, December 31, 1860.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your kind favor crossed with the letter which I had the pleasure of addressing you last week.

I have read carefully your resolutions for a conference, and they meet my entire approval. The South cannot ask for more, and the dominant party of the North ought certainly to acquiesce in a plan of settlement, which, in my opinion, would not add a foot of slave territory to the Union, except where climate and soil render it more profitable than free labor.

Several of the ultra men of the South whom I have seen lately, are loud in their praises of the stand which you have taken, and approve the mode of settlement proposed by your resolutions. I see, however, with great regret, by the papers, that the committee of thirteen have rejected them.

Now, if you will allow me one suggestion, dictated only by my warm attachment to you, I would advise you to support a compromise which has for its basis the restoration of the Missouri compromise, carried to the eastern frontier of California. I have good reason to know that the conservative portion of the Republican leaders are in favor of it, and it can only add to your high position as a patriotic and a Union man, if you support actively and energetically the restoration of the Missouri line.

It will forever silence the clamors of your enemies at the North, who have tried to lay the repeal of that act at your door, forgetting the refusal of the North to carry that line to the Pacific rendered that repeal necessary.

The self-denial and sacrifice of your favored doctrine of popular sovereignty, when the salvation of the Union requires it, would place you higher in the affections of the American people than you have ever been before. I am told by Republican leaders that they will not vote

for Crittenden's amendment because they will not accept the Missouri line for future acquisitions of territory. They say this would be holding out a premium for filibustering against Mexico and Cuba, in order to make new slave States. If you could hit upon some plan of compromise by which to get over this difficulty, there might be some hope of saving the country.

I have written, yesterday, to Governor Johnson, of Georgia, urging upon him the policy of getting the convention of his State to submit their final action to the ratification of the people, and showing how incompatible with the best interests of Georgia it would be to follow in the wake of South Carolina.

I beg to hand you inclosed copy of my letter, and if you approve of my suggestions, I hope you will find leisure to recommend them to the earnest consideration of Stephens and Johnson.

My own impressions are very gloomy indeed, and I fear nothing will be done to save the sinking ship of state. We must, however, do our duty as men, and stand by the Union to the last.

TO THE HON. W. H. SEWARD,
United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, January 17, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—I had intended for the last few days to express to you my sincere admiration of your patriotic and statesmanlike speech in the United States Senate, on Saturday last, but have been prevented by indisposition until to-day.

The graphic and masterly manner with which you depict the blessings of the Union, and the inevitable calamities of its dissolution, will, I trust, open the eyes of the extreme men on both sides to the madness of their course. In paying to your patriotism a willing tribute of the gratitude of a political opponent, for the manly stand which you have taken, may I also be allowed to express the hope that we may look forward to your leading your party further on in the path of moderate and conciliatory measures, which alone can save us from all the horrors of dissolution and civil war.

Without wishing for a moment to defend the revolutionary proceedings of South Carolina, and some of the other cotton States, I may be allowed to express my intimate conviction, based upon information from the most conservative men in the border States, that nothing can prevent Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Kentucky, from joining the movement of the cotton States, unless compromise measures, based upon the propositions of Senator Crittenden, can be carried by a sufficient majority through Congress, to insure their embodiment in the Constitution.

I know that many, if not most of the Republican leaders are, until now, opposed to these measures, but do they represent the real feeling of their constituents? I think not; the large masses of our Northern people are, by an overwhelming majority, devotedly attached to the Union. They are ready and anxious to bring every sacrifice for its preservation, and will, to a man, abide by your doctrine: "*Republicanism is subordinate to the Union, as every thing else is, and ought to be.*"

If we could get at the true sentiment of our people throughout the North, I think we might get over our present difficulties ; in fact, I do not see any other means of saving the Union. I therefore approve most cordially of your suggestion for a general convention, and hope only that you could be induced to modify your recommendation, so as to make this appeal now, and not in two or three years.

If, by a tardy action, the tobacco States are allowed to cast their lot with the seceders, and thus form a powerful Southern Confederacy of fifteen States, as they will most assuredly do unless an equitable compromise on the territorial question can be obtained, I fear that a reconstruction of our confederacy would be utterly hopeless hereafter.

Providence has assigned to you a position of great and fearful responsibility in this crisis. You can preserve this great Union, with all its untold blessings, not only to the millions of freemen who congregate under its protecting wing, but to the oppressed in every portion of the inhabited globe. The downfall of our government would be the death-knell to political and religious liberty in both hemispheres. You have the sympathies of every patriot with you in the course which you have initiated by your great speech. The manifestations, on the part of prominent men of both parties, are most unequivocal in their sincere approbation of the stand which they hope to see you take.

Your efforts will entitle you to the gratitude of the whole American people, and you will change the proud position of the great leader of a victorious party for the more exalted and honorable one of the benefactor and savior of your country.

TO BARON LIONEL DE ROTHSCHILD, M. P.,
London.

NEW YORK, May 21, 1861.

DEAR BARON,—The telegraphic report of Lord John Russell's declaration in Parliament, on the 6th inst., concerning Southern privateers, has created a painful surprise and disappointment throughout the whole North.

In placing them upon the footing of *belligerents*, the English government takes an initiative step toward recognizing the Southern Confederacy, because the letters of marque of an unauthorized and unrecognized government, in rebellion against the constituted authorities, can, under the law of nations, only be regarded by every maritime power as pirates, and treated accordingly.

If Ireland or Scotland should revolt against the British crown, or Canada attempt to dissolve her allegiance to the mother country, would the United States be justified in recognizing the privateers fitted out by the rebels, as *belligerents*? I am sure that our government would not assume such an unfriendly position, and give so material a support to a rebellious province, in endangering the trade of its allies, and of the world at large.

With the blockade of the Southern ports, which before a fortnight can have elapsed will be an effective one, from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande, the privateers of Jeff. Davis would have soon disappeared from the ocean, even if they ever made their appearance, had the declaration of Lord John not opened to them the British ports in the West Indies, Canada, and Great Britain.

It may be that the British government will not condemn any prizes brought by the privateers into its ports, but the fact of their being allowed to run in for supplies and coal, and to escape into the many ports and inlets of the West Indies, where our ships of war cannot follow them, will attract numerous lawless adventurers under the piratical flag of the Southern rebels.

The position which your government seems inclined to take in the contest, is, in my opinion, a very unfortunate one. It will complicate matters, must prolong the struggle, and result in a very bitter feeling between this country and England.

The whole North, without distinction of party, is determined not to allow our government and our Union to be destroyed, and I am sure the sword will never be laid down until the American flag floats again from Maine to the Mississippi. The people feel that they are fighting for their national existence, and that no sacrifice can be too great in order to maintain and preserve that boon.

What the South claims now is for us to give up every port, from the Chesapeake to the Mississippi, to a foreign power, which has shown sufficiently within the last few months how far public and private property and obligations are to be respected by it.

In the struggle which is before us we had hoped for the sympathy of Europe, and particularly of England. Your statesmen and your press have at all times taken the most violent and uncompromising stand against slavery, and it is more than strange to see the British government now give its moral countenance to a power which, under the declaration of its Vice-President (Alex. Stephens) is based upon *slavery* as its principal fundamental strength. That basis will most probably require the reopening of the slave trade, as soon as England shall have recognized the Confederacy, and should in that event the sympathy of the British cabinet stop short, and not allow the *cotton-growers* to strengthen the foundations of their government, then Mr. Jeff. Davis will of course put an embargo upon the export of cotton, in order to compel England to consent to the nefarious traffic in human flesh. He could certainly not be charged with a want of logic, by reasoning that the same power which induced England to throw her weight into the scale of a rebellious slave power, trying to overthrow our free institutions, would also be sufficiently potent to compel her to consent to the Confederacy drawing its supplies from Africa, of an element which the founders of that Confederacy had openly declared to the civilized world to be the basis of this young creation, claiming rank among the civilized nations of the world.

Some few months back there were many conservative men at the North, and I was among the number, who, when all attempts at compromise had failed against the blind ultraism of both sections, advocated a peaceable separation of the *cotton States*. This was, however, to be

confined to them alone, and was then considered the surest means of an early reconstruction, when the Union feeling in the misguided States would have had time and opportunity to develop itself, by showing to the people of those States how fatally they were mistaken in their hopes of prosperity outside of the Union.

Things have, however, changed very materially since. The attack upon Fort Sumter, the lawless acts of the Southern Confederacy, the treason in Virginia and Tennessee, have placed every loyal citizen to the choice between a firm and manful support of our government, or a disgraceful drifting of our nationality into a state of anarchy and dissolution, similar to the fate of Mexico and Central America.

Lord John Russell draws an analogy of the Southern rebellion to the struggle for independence by Greece, and asserts that because England recognized Greece then as a belligerent, the South has to be recognized now by her in the same character. Greece was a conquered and enslaved *province* of a semi-barbarous despotism, and had never been completely subjugated. It was a Christian people, tyrannized by fanatical Moslemism, and had the warm and active sympathy of the whole civilized world on its side.

The Southern States, who are now in a state of rebellion against the Federal government, were free and voluntary parties to a compact of union, which was declared to be perpetual. They cannot point to a single right guaranteed to them by the Constitution, which has been violated, and the only ground upon which they justify their rebellion, is the *fear* that their peculiar institution of slavery may hereafter be interfered with by the party which put Mr. Lincoln into power.

I am free to say that the simile of Lord John is as unfortunate as the position which he has initiated for his government in this crisis. The British cabinet will, if this course should be persisted in, commit the fatal error of losing the good will of the party *which in the end must be successful*, in order to gain the friendship of those whose defeat can only be a question of time. We have three times as large a population, as united and brave as theirs; we have a navy, we have money and credit, in which latter they are most sadly and justly deficient.

Already, Davis is again in the market with a loan of fifty millions of dollars. Who will loan a dollar to a confederacy of States, of which four have already repudiated their debts, while the remaining five will in less than three months be in default of their semi-annual dividends, unless it be that the name of Jeff. Davis, notwithstanding his advocacy

of repudiation in his own State, Mississippi, should have a sweeter sound to European capitalists, than I think he will ever acquire. In less than a year the Confederate States will pay their obligations in treasury warrants, which will have the same ultimate value as the French "assignats."

You know that I have never been in favor of the party which is now at the head of our government, and my convictions on this point have in no way been changed. I am, however, convinced that the whole North, to a man, will stand by the administration in the present struggle, and that *come what may*, the integrity of the Union, and the inviolability of our territory, will be maintained to the bitter end.

Civil war is now upon us; no human power can prevent it. A vigorous and gigantic effort, on the part of the North, may, and I am confident will, shorten its horrors and disastrous results. An interference or one-sided neutrality, such as is foreshadowed by Lord John Russell's speech, can only prolong the fratricidal war, and entail ruin, not only upon both sections of our country, but upon the material interests and commerce of the world.

TO BARON LIONEL DE ROTHSCHILD, M. P.,
London.

NEW YORK, May 28, 1861.

DEAR BARON,—Since my letter by the *Africa* steamer we have received the proclamation of the Queen, commanding a strict neutrality to her subjects in the struggle in which the government of the United States is now engaged against a portion of its citizens, now in rebellion against their constituted authorities.

It would be difficult for me to convey to you an idea of the general feeling of disappointment and irritation produced in this country, by this manifesto of the British government, by which a few revolted States are placed, in their relations with Great Britain, upon the same footing as the government of the United States.

People naturally compare the position which England takes now against us, to her stand during the Carlist war in Spain. The rebellion in the South has not the same chances of success as there existed certainly at one time for the cause of the Spanish pretender. Yet it certainly never occurred to the British crown for one moment to acknowledge Don Carlos in the light of a belligerent. On the contrary, we saw a British legion, armed and equipped in England, and commanded by an English general officer, fight for the cause of the constitutional and rightful sovereignty.

When Hungary, some years later, made an heroic effort to reconquer her nationality and independence, England did not cease to consider her as a revolted province, although the sympathies of the majority of the English people were on the side of the rebels, and though nothing but the powerful intervention of Russia prevented a success of that revolution.

Recently, again, on the other hand, we have seen men and arms equipped by British subjects, leave the English ports to assist the cause of Italian independence under Garibaldi.

The people of the United States had certainly a right to hope and

expect the same support in their struggle for their *national existence* against the unjust and unwarrantable revolt of an unprincipled oligarchy, based upon the most odious domestic institution, and against which no government has heretofore taken so decided a stand as Great Britain herself.

If not an actual violation of international law, it must certainly be considered an act of extreme unfriendliness on the part of any government to place itself on a footing of neutrality between a power with which it entertains intimate diplomatic and commercial relations, and a revolted portion of that nation, unrecognized by any civilized government, and having so far in no way shown any evidence that it will be able to maintain the position which it has assumed against its legitimate government.

I fear that the very cordial good-feeling which, notwithstanding the delicate questions arising, from time to time, between the two governments, has pervaded all classes of our people toward the British nation, and of which, as well as of their deep-felt veneration for the Queen, they have given such a unanimous and striking evidence on the occasion of the laying of the Atlantic telegraph cable, and the recent visit of the Prince of Wales, will make room to sentiments of bitter resentment and animosity if the British government should persist in its present attitude.

Even upon the point of strict neutrality the proclamation goes further than international law and comity would seem to require. While the prohibition of equipment and enlistment of armaments and troops by British subjects in British ports is a measure of neutrality, it is certainly stretching the point to prevent British merchant vessels from carrying arms, military stores, etc., etc., to our ports or those of the Confederate States. The ports of the latter being blockaded by our navy, this restriction is entirely aimed against us, and is, therefore, an actual assistance to the rebels.

During the Crimean war, notwithstanding the strict neutrality of our government, which forbade enlistments, etc., etc., our vessels carried troops, arms, and military stores from English and French ports into the Crimea. The American ship-owners did this at their own peril in case of capture by Russian vessels of war, but our government did not prohibit it, notwithstanding that, as in the present case, it only was done to the advantage of one of the belligerent parties, Russia being blockaded then as the South is now.

My fears that the position of England would only complicate matters, are, unfortunately, very likely to be realized. The sympathy of the British government for the South, so far from lessening the determination of our government and people, has only increased their ardor. It is now a question of *national existence and commercial prosperity*, and the choice can, of course, not be doubtful.

I have, within the last few days, seen the best informed and most influential men in our administration, and I am more than ever convinced that the war will be carried on with energy and vigor. Large numbers of troops are concentrating around Virginia and Maryland, and our navy is at once to be increased by the building of fifty steam gun-boats and several large vessels of war. The only chance for the peace of the world and the immense interests which are at stake in this struggle, is its early termination by the overshadowing power of the North.

England's position threatens to prolong the war by giving hope and comfort to the rebels. The requirements of the cotton-spinners in Lancashire have, of course, a good deal to do with the unexpected attitude assumed by your government, but my conviction is, that if the North should be pushed to the wall by these hostile influences, and the war last more than a year, it will end in the complete destruction of the South, because what is now a war for the reconstruction of the Union, in which all the Constitutional rights of the South would be secured, would then lead to the utter annihilation of the slavery interest. The short-sighted policy of the gentlemen in Manchester, who now allow cotton to outweigh their anti-slavery professions, may therefore end in much worse consequences for them than the short supplies of one or two years.

The Morrill tariff would most assuredly have been modified, if not entirely repealed, at the next session of Congress, which is to assemble on the 4th of July next. The requirements of our revenue and the general feeling of the North called for it. I am, however, very much afraid that the unfriendly position assumed by England will produce a revulsion here, and that no modification can be obtained, unless preceded by a change in the tone and policy of your press and government.

I hope your influence and that of all those who wish to see a speedy end of our present calamities, will be exerted toward bringing about such a change.

TO THE HON. W. H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, May 29, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—I am extremely obliged to you for the very kind and flattering manner with which you speak of a letter of mine to Baron Rothschild, of which a copy had been handed to you by Mr. Weed.

The Baron is a very intimate friend of Lord John Russell, both representing the city of London in Parliament, and he is on equally friendly relations with Lord Palmerston.

I know that his personal views and sympathies have been, and are, still, with the North, and I have no doubt but what he will communicate my views to his ministerial friends.

As you have given a favorable consideration to my views on the unfriendly attitude assumed by the British Crown, I beg to hand you the inclosed copy of another letter which I wrote yesterday to Baron Rothschild on the proclamation of the Queen, and which I hope you will find leisure to peruse.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD DUNFERMLINE,
House of Lords, London.

NEW YORK, JUNE 3, 1861.

MY DEAR LORD DUNFERMLINE,—The friendly relations which have existed during several years between us, and which I shall always cherish among the bright recollections of my sojourn at the Hague, induce me to address you this letter, for which I crave your kind and favorable consideration.

The unfortunate position into which a few reckless and selfish politicians, aided by the weakness of our late national administration, have thrown this country, is at this moment directing the serious attention of the British government and people toward us. Knowing your warm and active sympathy, and that of your noble and influential family, for the cause of constitutional liberty, I am sure that you are among those who watch with intense interest the phases of the dark drama which is now enacting on this continent, between the United States, struggling for their national existence, and a rebellious faction, attempting to overthrow our free institutions, in order to plant slavery on the whole American continent.

From the tenor of the English press, and the debates in Parliament, I am inclined to believe that there exists a serious misapprehension in the minds of your government and people in regard to the nature of the Southern rebellion, and the chances of its success.

If you allow me, I will give you my views on the present position of affairs here, in as short a space as the form of a letter, and my desire not to bore you with a lengthy epistle, will permit. I may claim that these views, however erroneous and imperfect they may prove, have at least the merit of fairness and impartiality. My politics have always been opposed to the party now in power, the advent of which has been used by the leaders of the Southern conspiracy as a watch-word for an overthrow of our government. I was, and am, opposed to an useless agitation of the slavery question, and any infringement of

the Constitutional rights of the South, under a fair and liberal construction, and am equally hostile to the anti-free-trade proclivities of the present administration.

You are doubtless aware that the so-called Republican (anti-slavery) party which is now in power, was first able to claim the position of a national party in 1854, in consequence of the daily increasing aggressions and demands of the pro-slavery oligarchy, which had gained the control of the executive and legislature of the Federal government. The dastardly assault upon Senator Sumner, from Massachusetts, provoked as it undoubtedly was by the violent language of that senator, and the fraud and violence with which the pro-slavery party attempted to force a slavery constitution upon the new State of Kansas, drove hundreds of thousands throughout the North into the ranks of the new party.

In 1856 that party, for the first time, put a candidate for the Presidency in nomination, upon the avowed doctrine of preventing the extension of slavery to our western Territories. Mr. Fremont was then defeated by Mr. Buchanan, who enjoyed the confidence of a very large majority of the conservative and influential portion of the country, and in whose sagacity, experience, and familiarity with public affairs, everybody hoped for a strong government, and for the suppression of the seditious cry of disunion which had been raised by the political leaders of the South ever since the formation of the Republican party.

In these expectations the country was sadly disappointed. Mr. Buchanan threw himself from the very outset into the arms of the very men who are now the rebel leaders of the South. His cabinet, chosen under such influences, sympathized, with one single exception, and was in secret league with the conspirators, giving them during the last four years ample time, means, and influence, in order to prepare their treasonable machinations.

The Secretary of War, convicted since his retirement of actual treason and fraud, had placed all the Federal forts in the South, and an immense quantity of arms, within their reach, so that when the time had come for them to throw down the mask they were enabled to give to their movement an appearance of strength and probability of success, which evidently has deceived public opinion in England.

Upon the first outbreak of secession, and when it was confined to the cotton States, there was also a large party at the North which was

in favor of compromise measures, in order to bring the seceding States back to their allegiance. When these failed against the uncompromising attitude of the extremists South and North, they even went so far as to advocate a peaceable separation of the cotton States, convinced that the latter, when once out of the Union, would soon discover how fearfully they had been deceived by their selfish and designing leaders, and that they would be but too glad after a year or so to return into the confederacy.

The attack against Fort Sumter, the treachery of Virginia and North Carolina, and the conduct of Jeff. Davis, have, however, since then, produced a revolution in the public mind of the North, of the *strength*, *intensity*, and *unanimity* of which it would be impossible for me to convey to you even the faintest idea.

The people of the North see now revealed to them, in all their horrid nakedness, the treasonable schemes of the slavery oligarchy, who, while pretending to battle for their threatened Constitutional rights, have dragged the country to this fearful condition, for no other purpose but to insure to themselves the continuance of that power which they have wielded for the last forty years, and to fasten *slavery*, as a *political element*, upon this country. The North feels that to admit the right of secession claimed by the revolted States, would be forever to renounce our existence as a nation, and that a peaceful separation of fifteen slave States on one side, and seventeen free States on the other, divided only by an imaginary geographical line, must soon be followed by war and strife, however much treaties and diplomacy might attempt to prevent it. Besides, can it be expected that the powerful North and Northwest, with a hardy and industrious population of twenty-one millions of freemen, would quietly relinquish the mouth of the Mississippi, and all the seaports, from the Chesapeake to the Rio Grande, into the possession of a foreign nation, ruled by unscrupulous and reckless politicians, who, for the sake of their odious domestic institution, and upon the strength of their cotton monopoly, would disregard and violate treaty-stipulations, whenever it would suit their convenience.

With a due appreciation of these considerations, it cannot be doubted that no sacrifice will be too great for the people of the North in support of their government, and the maintenance of the integrity of their country. We are all united, while we know that in Virginia, Tennessee, and Alabama, a very considerable portion of the inhabi-

tants are openly in favor of the Union, and we have good reason to suppose that a very numerous minority in the other cotton States, with the exception, perhaps, of South Carolina, is opposed to secession.

The contest must end in the victory of the government, but I fear that the position of neutrality taken by your government, which raises the rebels to the dignity of belligerents, will give them a moral support only calculated to prolong the war and its horrors.

We had hoped for the active sympathy and support of the British government and people, in our struggle against the spread of the institution of slavery, and against a rebellion, which, by the confession and boast of its leaders, is based upon that institution as its principal element of power.

We could not, of course, expect a direct interference of your government in our intestine quarrel, but we thought that, as they had heretofore done in the case of Greece, Italy, and Spain, the British people would be allowed to follow their noble instincts for freedom and constitutional liberty, and that the anti-slavery cause, which had always been so warmly advocated in England, would now find means, money, and men, in its dark hour of trial, to assist us against the most unjustifiable and criminal rebellion which has ever disgraced the annals of history.

These hopes have been most sadly disappointed by the proclamation of the Queen, declaring strict neutrality between the government of the United States and a portion of its citizens in rebellion against that government. It has, however, in no way lessened the determination of the United North to fight for the restoration of the integrity of their government to the last man. With the preponderance of men and resources which we possess over the South, the final result can only be a question of time; but if the British government desires, as it undoubtedly must, to see the length and horrors of this fratricidal war diminished, its true policy must be to avoid any thing which in the remotest way can give aid and comfort to the seceded States.

Our government has given, by one of the first acts of the new administration, its consent to the first article of the declaration of the Paris Conference on the right of neutrals, abolishing privateers. With its consent, all the maritime powers of the world have now united in declaring privateering piracy, and I hope sincerely that this progress in civilization and humanity will be secured by the acceptance of the

consent of my government, notwithstanding that we were somewhat slow in making up our mind.

I trust, also, that the restrictions imposed by the Queen's proclamation, by which British merchant-vessels are prohibited from carrying arms and munitions of war to either of the belligerents, may be repealed.

The Southern ports being blockaded by our navy, this restriction results of course to the direct advantage of the rebels, and prevents, moreover, your shipowners and manufacturers from realizing a legitimate profit by the manufacturing and carrying of English arms to our ports.

During the Crimean war, notwithstanding the strict neutrality of our government, our merchant-ships and steamers were chartered by the English and French authorities, for the carrying of troops and arms to the Crimea, and large numbers of arms were manufactured here, and sent in American vessels to England.

Our government did not interfere with its ship-owners and manufacturers in the lawful pursuit of their trade, and as the Russian ports were then in the same position as our Southern ports are at present, the neutral course of the United States resulted to the advantage of the allies.

I hope, my dear Lord Dunfermline, that you will excuse this very lengthy epistle, and I trust that your powerful influence will be exerted in favor of the cause of right, justice, and freedom. Your position in the House of Lords, and your intimate relations with Lord John Russell, give a peculiar weight to any steps you may feel induced to take in this important question.

The cordial good feeling of our people for Great Britain, and their deepfelt love and respect for the Queen, will be very much strengthened by an evidence of sympathy on the part of the British nation and government for our cause, which is that of justice and humanity.

If you have sufficient leisure left to let me hear from you, I shall be much gratified, and if I can learn from you that I have not in vain advocated the cause of my country, it will be a source of pride and happiness to me.

TO THE HON. W. H. SEWARD,
Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, JUNE 6, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—In your last kind letter, you requested me to inform you, from time to time, of the phases of public opinion in Europe, as they may come to my knowledge. I shall do so with pleasure, but hope that you will excuse my request if I beg you to consider my communications as strictly confidential.

The letters received by last steamer from England are any thing but satisfactory. The cotton interest seems to have gained so complete an ascendancy over every other consideration, that the anti-slavery feeling is entirely pushed into the background.

I fear that the British cabinet is seriously contemplating the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, and what is worse is the almost certainty that France will act in concert with England.

If you will not take it amiss, I will make bold enough to give you, as my candid opinion, that the Morrill tariff has had as much to do with the unfortunate state of feeling in Europe as any other circumstance.

England and France are compelled to keep their army and navy on the most extensive war footing, both mistrusting each other. In order to obtain the enormous sums required for such a state of things, both governments must bring every sacrifice of principle rather than see their commercial and manufacturing interests endangered. Our tariff and our blockade strike a mortal blow to both, and as we cannot, of course, give up the latter, it is certainly worthy the serious consideration of our government and people to see whether sound policy does not dictate the modification of the first. Apart from the change of public feeling which a return to free-trade principles would produce in England and France, I think that we absolutely require it in order to increase our revenue, which, under the present system, must continue to be very low. The only interest, in my opinion, for which the plea

of protection can be advanced with any degree of justice, is our iron interest, and that can be sufficiently done by a specific duty.

For the rest there ought, in my opinion, to be an average duty of fifteen per cent., and coffee and tea might be taken from the free list.

The government will very soon require a new loan, probably not less than thirty or forty millions, and I confess, candidly, that I do not see any chance for the negotiation of it in Europe, unless the chances of an increased revenue are secured by such a measure.

Before the war can be brought to a satisfactory termination we shall require from fifty to one hundred millions of dollars at least, and I think it will be absolutely necessary to look to the European money market for at least a portion of that amount.

By a reduction of our tariff to fifteen per cent., we take away a very great inducement for France and England to force our blockade and to recognize the South. They evidently expect now, not only to get their supply of cotton, but also to export their produce and manufactures into the Southern ports, to be from there smuggled into the West and North.

With a duty of fifteen per cent., the South cannot defray her expenses of a war, even if the blockade should not exist, and will be obliged to have recourse to an export duty on cotton and tobacco, and nothing will bring out a Union feeling so soon as that, among the influential planting interest.

Excuse the freedom of the expression of my views—they are based upon the best information I can command, abroad and at home, and they are dictated by a sincere devotion to my government.

TO N. M. ROTHSCHILD & SONS,

London.

NEW YORK, JUNE 7, 1861.

There is nothing new since my last from the seat of war, but a collision of an important nature must soon take place. A gentleman, just returned from Washington, and a personal friend of General Scott, tells me that the latter is very confident of a successful termination of the campaign.

If the rebellion is not overcome by next autumn, a force of one hundred thousand men from Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio will descend the Mississippi and break the backbone of secession in Mississippi and Louisiana. In the latter State, and particularly in New Orleans, they are beginning to earn the bitter fruits of their folly. The sugar interest is entirely ruined.

My conviction is, that if left to themselves, the Secessionists would have given up their wicked cause before next spring, but I fear that the hope and comfort given to them by the position of the British government and press will prolong the strife, and may bring with it complications of the gravest nature.

Lord Palmerston's organ, the *Morning Post*, hints at a recognition of the Southern Confederacy as a *de facto* government, and ridicules the tone of Mr. Seward's dispatch to Mr. Dayton.

I will not defend the latter, nor its ill-timed and indecorous publication before Mr. Dayton had even been received at the Tuileries, but I do maintain that an implied recognition of the rebellious States by the semi-official organ of the British Premier at this moment, when the struggle has barely begun, cannot be viewed but in the light of extreme unfriendliness to the United States, and as a preconceived determination on the part of the British government to take sides with the slavery interest.

If this policy were intended to make the North pause at the con-

templation of the increased difficulties of the struggle for its national existence, it has certainly most singularly failed in its object.

The determination of our people to fight the question of secession and slavery extension has only been strengthened by the news from your side, and I am sure that even the certainty of the *gravest complications with the mighty power of England* would in no way change the attitude and determination of the United States. The people are far in advance of the government.

It seems almost incredible to see England, the great advocate and leader of negro emancipation, give, now, her aid and influence to a most criminal rebellion, got up for no other purpose than that of fastening slavery not only upon our country, but also upon Mexico and Central America.

If the cotton supply is at the bottom of this unaccountable policy, then I must say that it is a very short-sighted one, and one which must bring untold ruin and desolation upon the material interests of both hemispheres. Should England interfere with our blockade of the Southern ports, and allow Southern privateers to visit her ports, it will necessarily give fresh power and courage to the Southern rebels and thus prolong a resistance which otherwise, and without the moral support from abroad, would not have had the most remote chance of success.

If the war is thereby prolonged, and we are prevented from bringing the rebels to their senses by the more humane process of a blockade, we may see next spring a war of extermination by the Northwest against the homes and plantations of the South.

I assure you that I do not exaggerate the state of feeling here, and I am morally convinced that my darkest apprehensions will be verified if your government really intends to pursue the policy foreshadowed now by the press and the debates in Parliament.

TO MESSRS. N. M. ROTHSCHILD & SONS,

London.

NEW YORK, June 11, 1861.

GENTLEMEN,—Since last steamer we have received your favor of the 28th ult., the contents of which I have duly noted.

I hope that the reply which you received in regard to sending out British ships to any of our Southern ports for the purpose of taking away goods will be the principle upon which your government will act on the question of our blockade. The whole strength of the South, and that upon which they expect to succeed, is the requirement of cotton by England. *King Cotton* is to rule the world and make African slavery the foundation of the new republic, stretching from the Chesapeake over Mexico and the Isthmus of Darien.

If England and France do not interfere, if they respect the closing of our Southern ports by act of Congress, as long as they remain in a state of rebellion (because that is, after all, what the misnamed *blockade* ought really to be called), and if they deny to the privateers of either party the entrance into British and French ports, I expect to see the question settled by next spring.

By that time the South will be exhausted, and the losses of the North will have been sufficiently severe for both to see the necessity of an end to this contest, and modifications in the Constitution will be accepted by both parties, which will settle forever the question that we are a nation, and not a co-partnership of States.

Had England taken a less unfriendly position toward us, no European sovereign could have done half as much toward bringing about such a result, by offering her powerful mediation, as the Queen of England, for whose person and character the deepest veneration pervades all classes of our people.

I fear this opportunity is lost, and the debates in Parliament, as well as the tone of your press, as they reach us by each successive steamer, only increase the irritation produced by the position of your

government, which develops itself daily more into a *quasi* recognition of the rebel government.

It is strange that in those debates your minister should have been led into a mistake not at all borne out by facts.

In referring to the outrage committed against a British captain in the port of Savannah, Lord John Russell states that this took place before the secession of the Southern States.

This is a mistake. It was one of the many lawless acts committed by the governors and people of the Southern States after they had dissolved their connection with the Federal government and had seized the national forts, property, and money.

It is, however, gratifying, that the same distinguished statesman, in the debates of the 30th ult., ascribes our present troubles to their true cause—"the accursed poison of slavery left them by England."

Why is it that this truth has not guided your government from the very outset of the rebellion, and why is it that for the last thirty years the English press and people have taunted us with the *unfortunate inheritance*, and fanned, in that way, the fanatical abolitionism of the New England States, until it has broken out into a flame which threatens to destroy not only the prosperity of this continent, but also the peace and good will of the two great representatives of civil and religious liberty.

"The accursed poison of slavery" will be fastened as a political and social institution upon this continent, from the Chesapeake to the Cordilleras, if the British government continues in the course which it has begun.

TO THE HON. S. P. CHASE,

Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, JUNE 18, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have the pleasure of handing you inclosed copies of the decrees of the Emperor Napoleon, and of the report of his Minister of Finance, relative to the last national loan of five hundred millions of francs, issued during the last Crimean war.

You will see, thereby, that the subscription was open in all the departments of France for a fortnight at 92 per cent. for $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. stock, and $65\frac{2}{10}\frac{5}{10}$ per cent. for 3 per cent. stock, which was about one to one and three-quarters per cent. lower than the stock was quoted on that day in Paris, say 93 per cent. for the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and $67\frac{1}{10}\frac{5}{10}$ per cent. for the three per cent. Rentes.

The subscription amounted to two billion one hundred and seventy-five million francs, that is to say, more than four times as much as was required; and the amount required was *more* than filled up by subscriptions of *under five hundred francs*, Rentes, say about twelve to fifteen thousand francs capital, so that the large subscribers got nothing.

This loan was issued in the midst of the Crimean war, and nine months only after a similar loan of two hundred and fifty millions, which had been taken in the same proportions. You will also see that a sinking fund is attached to this loan.

If our brave army is, as I trust and hope, victorious in its engagements with the rebels in Virginia, there will be no difficulty in negotiating large amounts of Federal stock here and in Europe.

The elastic energy of the American people makes them desirous to get quickly through their troubles, and I have no doubt that a vigorous prosecution of the war, and a consequent demand for larger appropriations, will be well received by the people.

My last letter from Paris states: "All uneasiness of hostilities in Europe during the present year appear to have disappeared. Our

bank is amply supplied with bullion, and the subscription, which has just closed, to an issue of two hundred and forty million francs railway bonds, has so enormously exceeded the amount as to prove to excess that there is plenty of money here which seeks suitable investments."

TO BARON JAMES DE ROTHSCHILD,
Paris.

NEW YORK, June 18, 1861.

As far as it lies in my power, I shall continue to give you the most accurate information of the march of events here. I have already expressed to you, repeatedly, my conviction, that unless aided by the moral support of France and England the Southern rebellion has no chance of success, and must be completely overcome.

General Scott is perfectly confident that by next spring he will have conquered a peace. My short visit to Washington, and the interviews which I had there with the different members of the administration, convince me more and more that the government is determined to carry on the war with the utmost vigor. From what Mr. Seward told me, it would seem that France will act jointly with England in its policy during the present war. I regret this for the reasons which I have already given to you.

England has, by her unfriendly position, lost the good-will of our people and government, who both look, more than ever now, to their old ally, France, and to the sympathy of the Emperor.

The time for his mediation may sooner or later come, and great commercial advantages can be secured by France by holding, for the present, at least, aloof.

It is stated that your government will allow the Southern privateers to run in for supplies, and remain with their prizes twenty-four hours in the French ports. This is very much to be regretted, and I hope, still, that the great powers of Europe will accept the adhesion of our government to the declarations of the Congress of Paris annulling privateering. All the maritime powers would then have outlawed that barbarous mode of warfare, and the ports of France would, of course, remain closed to Jeff. Davis's privateers.

One of them was captured a few days ago by the United States brig *Perry*, and her crew are now in irons on board the United States

steamer *Minnesota*. They will be tried as pirates, and if not hung, undoubtedly sentenced to hard labor.

The evacuation of Harper's Ferry, which was, at first, construed into an attempted attack upon Washington, seems to have been forced upon the rebel troops, who were afraid of having their retreat cut off. They will now concentrate at Manassas Junction, hoping, probably, to get General Scott to attack them there, in the strong intrenchments which they have constructed. That veteran hero is, however, too wise to be led into such a mistake. He knows that they are short of provisions, that the place does not give them a sufficient supply of water, and that, consequently, they will soon be obliged to fall back toward Richmond.

In the mean while the divisions under Generals McClellan and Patterson will come down from the West and Northwest and outflank them, unless they retreat. General Scott is confident of being in Richmond by the end of July.

During my short visit to Washington I saw a good many of our officers and soldiers. The most excellent spirit pervades our whole army. Our troops in Virginia behave with exemplary order, and are gaining the good-will of the inhabitants by the respect they show for all public and private property. Their conduct stands in beautiful contrast with that of the secession troops, who have destroyed about two million dollars' worth of property around Harper's Ferry, and who compel the Virginia farmers to sell them provisions against *valueless* paper of the Confederacy. This state of things ought soon to produce a healthy reaction in the sentiments of the Virginia people.

The election for Members of Congress in Maryland has resulted in the defeat of the whole *secession* ticket by handsome majorities, yet that State was claimed as hostile to the Union.

TO BARON LIONEL DE ROTHSCHILD,

London.

NEW YORK, June 18, 1861.

While I was in Washington I had a two hours' interview with our Secretary of State. Mr. Seward is clear in the position which he has taken with reference to the rebellion and the attitude into which the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, by any European government, will place the United States.

In that position the people will uphold our government at all hazards. There is no *irritation* of feeling on the part of the intelligent portion of our people against England, our papers, with one or two exceptions, treat the question very dispassionately, but there is *a firm and unalterable determination not to allow a separation of this Union*, whatever blood and treasure it may cost to conquer a peace and a reconstruction of the Confederacy.

TO THE HON. W. H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, June 24, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—I beg to hand you inclosed extract of a letter which I received this morning from England, and which was written after an interview with Lord John Russell. The feeling in England is evidently undergoing a revulsion in favor of the United States government.

I have also received letters from my friends in Paris of the same date. Baron Rothschild has had another interview with M. Thouvenel and the Emperor. It is evident that the Minister thinks that the course of neutrality pursued by England and France will compel the contending parties in the United States to come to terms.

The representatives of the two governments have, I fear, impressed their cabinets with a very erroneous notion of the relative strength of the North and South.

The Emperor again expressed his earnest desire to see our troubles ended, and his willingness to seize any favorable opportunity for mediation, or to become otherwise instrumental in a peaceful settlement of the question.

I intend to join my family in Europe by the steamer of the 17th of next month, and shall visit London and Paris. If I can be of any service to you at either of those places, I beg you will freely dispose of me. Nothing would give me a more sincere gratification than to be of use to my government in its present emergency.

TO THE HON. S. P. CHASE,

Secretary of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, June 24, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—A temporary absence from the city prevented my replying, before to-day, to the inquiries contained in your esteemed letter.

My opinion is, that with the present feeling of our people for a vigorous prosecution of the war, a national loan by subscription, in imitation of the plan of Louis Napoleon, would procure easily fifty millions of dollars to the government, provided the conditions of the subscription offer sufficient advantages to the capitalists and moneyed institutions. I think that a seven per cent. stock, redeemable in twenty years, would bring out a good deal of money which now seeks investment, and the amount of which must increase daily by the stagnation of trade. You are aware that the securities of the Federal government are now sold in the market at rates which give to the purchaser more than seven per cent. per annum. The five per cent. stock, redeemable in 1865 at par, can now be bought at eighty-six per cent., which gives about nine per cent. per annum to the holder. As it cannot be the policy of the government to borrow money at a higher rate than seven per cent. per annum, it becomes, in my opinion, necessary to direct the special attention of capital to the new loan, by placing it on a more undoubted footing of security than the former Federal loans, and also by placing the finances in a position which would render it probable that, for some time to come, at least, no further loans would be required. I think the setting aside the proceeds of the public lands, or the intended duty on coffee, tea, and sugar, for the payment of the interest, and the ultimate redemption of the capital of the one hundred and fifty or two hundred millions, which the people are prepared the government will want for the war, would make the new loan a very desirable investment abroad and at home. In other words, a sinking fund should be established for the loan, either by the proceeds of the

public lands, the special duty on sugar, tea, and coffee, or an income tax.

Experience has shown that the tariff passed by last Congress will not give any revenue. It wants very serious modifications before it can meet the requirements of government and stimulate our languishing foreign trade, and should, in my opinion, not bear an average of more than fifteen, or, at the outside, twenty per cent. upon any article of import. The revision of a tariff is, however, a very delicate question, interfering, as it does, with manifold interests all over the country, and would, in my opinion, require more time and a more dispassionate and careful discussion than can be expected for it during an extra session called in the present emergency.

My conviction is that the most popular and practical mode of dealing with the question at this moment, would be for Congress simply to repeal the so-called Morrill tariff, and make the tariff of 1858 the law of the land, until, by the force of arms or by the action of a national convention, the peace and integrity of the country shall be again re-established.

With the earnest desire of our people to support the national administration in the present struggle, I am confident that Congress will not only vote the sums for which you may call, but will also pass any financial measure, which you will recommend.

My impression is, that Congress ought to give you authority to borrow in such sums and at such times as you may deem advisable, to the extent of two hundred millions of dollars, to be negotiated either here or in Europe, at the best rates obtainable. If you could get Congress not to limit the rate of interest or price of stock at all, it would, of course, be very desirable—in any event, it ought, however, not to be less than seven per cent. per annum, and your hands ought to be entirely free as to the mode and time of negotiation.

A national subscription, if resorted to, ought to be opened for one month in all our large cities, in every one of the loyal States of the Union; amounts as low as one hundred dollars, or even fifty dollars, should be accepted, and bonds for those fractions, with semi-annual coupons attached, be issued to the successful bidders. All the subscriptions below five thousand dollars should be filled before the larger amounts are awarded, and those latter only supplied *pro rata* if more than the required amount should be subscribed. A deposit of five per cent. should accompany every subscription, or less, if adjudged advisa-

ble. Special care should be taken that the papers in the interest of the government give every possible publicity to the subscription and to the advantages it would offer. There are immense sums in our savings banks, and large amounts which are now being invested in bonds and mortgages would be placed in a seven per cent. Federal loan, which is exempt from State and city taxation.

Now, as regards a foreign loan, payable in pounds in London, and based, as regards sinking fund, etc., upon the same conditions, I think that, *if negotiable at all*, it can be done at more advantageous terms than here, money being cheaper on the other side than here. I place the proviso of its being negotiable at all in consequence of the evident desire of the English government and people to put a stop to the war by the withholding of aid to either side, and this may interfere with the placing of any large amount of Federal stock at this moment in England.

I think, however, that this difficulty might be overcome, and that, under the auspices of some prominent and leading banking house, a very large amount of £ bonds, at six or six and a half per cent. per annum, principal and interest being payable in London, could be negotiated in London, Paris, Amsterdam, and Frankfort. The manner in which large loans for the Russian, Austrian, and Brazilian governments have been negotiated in those places was generally by way of subscriptions, opened under the auspices of leading bankers in their offices, and those of their agents, at the just-named places, the negotiating house generally taking, itself, a large amount at a fixed price, on its own account, and receiving a commission on the subscriptions which it procures. If by the time that the government wants to negotiate the loan our army has in any way been successful in Virginia, I have very little doubt but what large sums could be borrowed at six per cent. on £ bonds, and certainly at six and a half per cent., provided the right means and channels are used.

This government has, since 1814, redeemed its three per cent. stock at par, and has bought up its five per cent. and six per cent. stock at high premiums before their maturity, and in case you resolve upon making an attempt abroad, it would be well to collect the statistics of these different redemptions.

Besides the above two modes of raising the necessary funds, I think that the government could pay out to contractors for the War and Navy departments six per cent. Treasury notes, having two years to

run, and convertible within that period, at the option of the holder, into six per cent. stock having twenty years to run. These Treasury notes, if issued in sums as low as *fifty dollars*, or even *twenty dollars* (the convertibility would, of course, only be extended to sums of fifty dollars and over), would soon form a circulation throughout the country, and as they would not be receivable in the payment of duties before their maturity, I think that the government could easily keep forty or fifty millions of dollars of these six per cent. Treasury notes in circulation. My opinion is, that by having recourse at the same time to the three modes of negotiation, the government will find no difficulty in obtaining all the money it may require.

I intend to join my family in Europe by the steamer which is to sail from this port on the 17th of July, to be absent about four or five months. If I can be of any use to you or the government, either in London or on the Continent, I shall be very happy, and I beg you will dispose freely of my services. My friend and partner, Mr. Charles Christmas, who remains at the head of my house here during my absence, will at all times be able to give you the news of my whereabouts, and can also communicate to you the phases of the European money-markets, and any other information which may be of interest to you.

[*Translation.*]

TO BARON JAMES DE ROTHSCHILD,
Paris.

NEW YORK, June 25, 1861.

DEAR BARON,—By the letter of your son Alphonse, I see, with pleasure, the steps which you have taken near M. Thouvenel and also near the Emperor, in order to obtain, if possible, the important mediation of France in our unfortunate troubles.

Though now in the storm of passions, the time for this has not yet come, it is not improbable that sooner or later it may be reserved to the Emperor to put an end to our civil war, and to restore peace and prosperity to this country.

Unfortunately, the proclamation of neutrality by your government, published in the *Moniteur* of the 1st inst., by which France assimilates her policy toward this country entirely to that of England, has produced a very unfavorable impression here. We had hoped that the strong government of the Emperor would throw its moral support into the scale of our legitimate government, the Union, and the law, and would not be misled by the cotton policy of England into a *quasi* recognition of the rebels.

Our government has given its consent to the abolition of letters of marque, so that now every maritime power has acceded to the stipulations of the Congress of Paris. Why, therefore, allow to a revolted portion of the United States to harass the commerce of the world by its privateers, and why allow them even the refuge of twenty-four hours in the ports of France?

As I had already the honor to write to you heretofore, if France and England will respect our blockade, and not allow the privateers of Jefferson Davis to seek refuge in any of their ports, the North will soon be able to bring the Secessionists back to their allegiance.

A different policy, which gives to the South the hope of recognition

by the great powers of Europe, must prolong the struggle and its baneful consequences upon the prosperity of the world.

The United States cannot, and *never* will consent to a separation. I fear that M. Mercier, as well as a certain M. Baroche, son of the ex-Minister of Finance, who is visiting this country in a semi-official capacity, have, in their reports from Washington and the South, given a very erroneous impression to the French government as regards the resources of the South.

Nobody who watches our unhappy situation, without prejudice and on the spot itself, can doubt for one moment that the victory must be with the North and the Union. Even at the South many people are becoming convinced of this by degrees, and I hear that emissaries of the Southern leaders are beginning to talk of compromise and concessions—for these, however, the time has, unfortunately, not yet arrived.

I have written to your house, by one of the last steamers, in regard to the loans to be negotiated by the United States in the course of the next months.

Congress will assemble on the 4th of July, and will doubtless authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to raise one hundred and fifty millions of dollars by a loan. It is not yet known in what manner this loan is to be negotiated.

TO THE HON. WM. H. SEWARD,
Washington, D. C.

LONDON, July 30, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR,—I arrived here the day before yesterday, and through the kindness of a mutual friend had an interview of an hour's duration, last evening, with Lord Palmerston, in one of the private galleries of the House of Commons. The length to which his lordship allowed our interview to be prolonged, and the many interrogatories which he put to me, are a striking evidence of the deep interest with which the government watches the progress of events in our country.

Lord Palmerston, after asking me a number of questions about our army and navy, the feeling at the North, etc., wanted also to know whether the feeling of anger and irritation manifested by our people against England for her position of neutrality was still as violent as ever when I left.

I told him that there was no feeling of hostility in the United States against England, but that throughout all classes of people at the North we felt deeply mortified and disappointed when the proclamation of the Queen revealed to us the fact that the people of the United States had not to expect any sympathy on the part of the British government in their struggle for national existence against a rebellious slave oligarchy; I dwelt upon the criminality, unjustifiability, and lawlessness of that rebellion, and compared the tone of the English government and press with the expression of heartfelt sympathy which came across the Atlantic, from the whole American people, at the time of the rebellion in India.

His Lordship listened with earnest attention to my remarks, and said that the British government, by its strict neutrality, did not do any more than what we had done when we would not permit them to enlist a few men in the States during the Crimean war. In the course of the conversation he used this phrase, "We do not like

slavery, but we want cotton, and we dislike very much your Morrill tariff."

I think this phrase comprises the whole policy of this government in the present war, and from what I have seen and heard since my arrival, I am more than ever convinced that we have nothing to hope from the sympathy of the English government and people in our struggle. Because this war is not carried on for the abolition or slavery in the Southern States, they try to maintain that the war has nothing to do with slavery: wilfully shutting their eyes to the fact that the attitude of the North with regard to introducing slavery into the Territories is the main ground upon which the Secessionists justify their action. As a distinguished lady, wife of a prominent liberal in Parliament, told me last evening: "I am sorry to say, we have been found wanting in the present emergency, and principles have to yield to interest."

The news of the patriotic action of Congress, by voting large supplies of men and money, and the successes of General McClellan, have evidently startled people a good deal. Lord Palmerston was very minute in his inquiries on all these points. He also asked what it meant that Congress had passed a law closing the Southern ports, and whether this act of Congress was to stand in lieu of the blockade, which was thus to be given up.

I gave him my individual views on this question, stating that I thought this action was only taken in order to give additional force and Constitutionality to the blockade, and to meet objections which might be raised against the government blockading its own ports, and as such the United States considered every port in the seceded States.

He then asked me what was the meaning of the law just passed by Congress, authorizing the appointment of collectors in the Southern ports for receiving custom-duties on board of vessels of war, to be stationed at the entrance of the respective ports—that he could not understand how, on one hand, a port could be blockaded, and on the other hand, ships be allowed to enter upon paying customs, maintaining that this was virtually doing away with the blockade.

I replied that I thought the passage of this act was only intended to be authoritative, but not mandatory, upon the executive, and that Congress wanted to give to the President every possible Constitutional power, in order to be prepared for every emergency. That so far from intending to relinquish the blockade of the seceded ports, no

efforts would be spared in order to make it respected and effective.

I mention all these remarks and objections in order to show you how every excuse will be seized by this government in order to break through our blockade, and I know that under the influence of Mr. Mercier's dispatches to his government, we have nothing better to hope from France. I understand that both governments have written to their ministers at Washington, more than a week ago, that they will not allow French and English vessels to be overhauled on the high seas by our blockading squadron, on account of being suspected of having run the blockade, or carried contraband of war.

Lord Palmerston asked me what our manufacturers and spinners in New England would do for their supply of cotton, and how they were situated at present. I told him that by working short time I thought they would have cotton enough to last them until next spring, and that they were all for a strong, vigorous prosecution of the war, convinced that this was the only way in order to get the required supply by next spring.

He asked me, also, where our government intended to raise the large amounts voted by Congress for the prosecution of the war. I told him that I had no knowledge of the intentions of the Secretary of the Treasury, but I supposed he would negotiate his loans wherever he could make the most advantageous terms, that undoubtedly a large portion, if not the whole, would be taken by our people at home, the stagnation of trade having thrown a good deal of idle capital upon the market. I purposely conveyed the idea that we did not look for the probability of negotiating any large loan in England at present, because, since my arrival, the English papers have talked a good deal about my having come over for the purpose of raising money here.

I shall also shorten my visit here for the present, and intend to leave this evening for Paris and Germany. If I have a chance in Paris to see any of the Emperor's cabinet, I shall do so, and shall not fail to write to you should any thing of interest come to my knowledge. I hope that by the time this reaches you our troops have been victorious in Virginia—one or two battles now will very soon change the tone and feeling of our English cousins.

TO THURLOW WEED,

Albany, N. Y.

NEWPORT, R. I., July 20, 1862.

MY DEAR MR. WEED,—I have made several attempts to see you during your fleeting visits to New York, but have not been so fortunate as to find you in.

Our national affairs are in a most critical position, more so than they have been at any time since the beginning of this unfortunate war.

What frightens me more than the disasters in the field, is the apathy and distrust which I grieve to say I meet at every step, even from men of standing, and hitherto of undoubted loyalty to the Union.

You know my own feelings and convictions on the subject of our national troubles, and I am sure I can speak to you in all candor, without the fear of having my thoughts misconstrued, though you may, perhaps, not share my views.

My firm conviction is, that any other solution to our present difficulties than a reconstruction of but one government over all the States of our confederacy would entail upon us and our children an inheritance of the most fearful consequences, which would end in the utter disintegration and ruin of the whole country.

There are only two modes by which to prevent such a calamity, which is certainly, at this moment, more threatening than it has ever been before. The one is, by an energetic and unrelenting prosecution of the war to crush the rebellion; the other would be to negotiate with the leaders of that rebellion (to which it would be madness to withhold the character of a gigantic revolution) and to see whether it may not yet be possible to re-establish a Federal Union.

Both alternatives present difficulties of the gravest nature, and which they did not possess in the same degree at the beginning of the contest.

Our army has been decimated by disease and the casualties of war.

I am informed from reliable sources that McClellan has barely seventy thousand men, all told, and Pope's army, including the corps of McDowell, Sigel, and Banks, is said to number barely forty thousand men. What can we expect to do with such a force against Richmond, which is defended by an enemy having probably double that number under arms, flushed with recent successes, commanded by generals at least equal to ours, directed by one master-spirit, and occupying a central position in a country hostile to us?

It is true the President has called out three hundred thousand men, but it would be a fatal delusion to believe that this number would be sufficient to crush the enemy, even if it were sure that, under the present system of volunteers, the men would come forward.

I think I make a liberal estimate if I put the figure of the Federal armies, all told, at four hundred thousand effective men, and this number will be reduced to at least three hundred thousand before the new levies can be brought into the field.

When we stopped recruiting in the midst of our successes, we dealt a fatal blow to our army, and it is really a wonder to me that our commanding generals consented to submit to such a measure, which crippled them at a time when an overwhelming force became necessary to finish up the good work. It was a policy hardly less suicidal than if we had stopped sending supplies and ammunition to our men in the field. Where we would have found last winter ten men eager to enlist, anxious to share in our triumphs, we will scarcely now find one, so deep is the gloom and distrust which has taken hold of our people. It would be worse than folly to shut our eyes to this fact. I think ours is the first instance in history where a government shut off supplies of men in the midst of a gigantic war. Look at England. Her enlistments in the Crimean war lasted until the very day of the conclusion of peace.

There is only one way to remedy our fatal error, that is, for the President at once to establish a system of conscription, by which, instead of three hundred thousand, *at least five hundred thousand men should be called under arms.*

A straightforward proclamation of the President, setting forth the necessities of the case and appealing to the patriotism of the people, will give more confidence than all the ill-concealed attempts at palliating our desperate condition.

Instead of levying new regiments, commanded by inexperienced

officers of their own choosing, and who, for a year to come, would barely add any thing to our efficiency in the field, the raw recruits ought to be collected at camps of instruction, in healthy localities, East and West, where, under the direction of *West Point graduates*, they should be drilled and disciplined.

From thence, as they are fit for active service, they should be furnished to the army to be incorporated into the old regiments, *without reference to States, and only where they are most needed*. This is the only way to create for this war an efficient *United States army*, and will strike a severe blow to that fatal heresy (State sovereignty and State pride) which lies at the bottom of all our misfortunes. Besides, such a mode would be infinitely more economical, and the raw recruits, mixed with our old soldiers, would be, of course, much more reliable and steady under the enemy's fire than in separate regiments commanded by officers just as inexperienced as themselves.

Simultaneously with these measures, which ought to be taken with the utmost vigor and dispatch, we must infuse more life and energy in our naval department.

The fact is, we have made a great mistake to undertake a war on a gigantic scale by land, where our opponents are, at least, nearly as strong as we are, instead of throwing our best resources and energies upon that mode of warfare where we could have had the enemy at our mercy. Had we, at the very outset of the rebellion, ordered fifty iron gun-boats, even at a cost of one million dollars apiece, we should, before last January, have been in possession of every Southern port. With two hundred thousand men we could have held, by land, the line of the Potomac, Missouri, and Tennessee, and thus hemmed in, we would have brought the South to terms, just as Russia had to sue for peace after the fall of Sebastopol.

I think it is still in our power to accomplish this, though the task has become more difficult since Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile have been so strongly fortified during the last six months. No time, money, and efforts should be spared to build at least twenty more large new iron steamships, with which to take and hold every important city on the rebel coast, from North Carolina to Texas.

If authority for all these measures is not vested in the President, he ought at once to call an extra session of Congress.

I have thus far given you my views of the steps which I consider indispensable, if the sword is to be the arbiter of our future, but is

there no other way of saving our country from all the horrors and calamities which even a successful war must entail upon us?

It may appear almost hopeless to attempt to bring the South back to the Union by negotiation. Men and women alike, in that distracted portion of our country, have become frantic and exasperated by the teachings of unprincipled leaders and the miseries of civil war. Still, I cannot bring myself to the belief that the door to a reconciliation between the two sections is irrevocably and forever shut. The losses and sufferings which have befallen us have been felt tenfold in the revolted States, and the thinking men of the South must see that a continuation of the war must end in the utter destruction of their property and institutions. The frightful carnage of many a battle-field must have convinced each section of the bravery of its opponents, and how much better it would be to have them as friends than foes.

While I am convinced that the President would be willing to see the South in the lawful possession of all its Constitutional rights, I have not lost all hope, that with these rights guaranteed, a re-union of the two sections might be accomplished. In any event, it seems to me that an attempt at negotiation should be made, and that the time for it has not entirely passed away.

If one or two conservative men, who, without holding any official position, possess influence and weight enough with our people and the government to inspire confidence in their statements to the leading men of the South could be found, to proceed under the authority, or at least with the knowledge of the President, to Richmond, in order to open negotiations, I think success might crown their efforts.

It is impossible, and would be presumptuous in me, to point out the conditions of such a compromise, but I think that propositions would prove acceptable to the South which contained in their general outline an amnesty for all political offences during the war, and the calling of a national convention for the purpose of reconstructing the Federal compact, with such modifications in the Constitution as our late sad experience has demonstrated to have become necessary.

The war debts of the North and South might either be borne by each respective section, or better, be funded and assumed by the general government. *The Monroe Doctrine to be strictly and uncompromisingly enforced*, which would require and justify a larger standing national army and navy than heretofore, thus giving us a chance to make provisions for such of their military leaders who, repenting their

past errors, are willing again to serve that flag to which, as friends and as foes, they owe all the distinction they have ever achieved.

I know that some of these concessions will be very distasteful to our people—they can be to no one more so than to myself. Every sacrifice must, however, be brought at the altar of our country when we can restore it to peace and prosperity, and with our blood and with our treasure we must also be ready to yield our prejudices, and even our convictions.

I firmly believe that the President would find the hearty support of the vast majority of our people in such a policy, and he ought not to lose any time in carrying out these views. Such men, for instance, as yourself and Governor H. Seymour, would soon be able to find out whether the men who are guiding the destinies of the South could be brought to listen to the dictates of reason and moderation.

Before we enter upon a new phase in this terrible war, which must carry with it horror and misery, far greater than what we have witnessed yet, I cannot but think that patriotism and humanity alike call for an earnest effort toward reconciliation and peace.

If our offers should be rejected, we shall stand justified before God and men, and our good cause will have His blessing and the world's sympathy.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

NEW YORK, August 10, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your esteemed favor. Its contents bear the stamp of that statesmanship and patriotism which I know to have guided all your actions in the trials which this wicked rebellion has brought upon our once so happy country.

I share entirely your views with regard not only to the duty, but also the policy of the revolted States to return to their allegiance without allowing their unequal struggle against the power of the United States to increase in violence and exasperation, as it necessarily must. Still I think that we might, perhaps, find means to remove the difficulties which the miseries of civil war and the terrorism conjured up by the leaders of the rebellion, have placed in the way of conservative men, who otherwise would most gladly return to the Union.

The words *conquest* and *subjugation* have been used to good effect by our opponents. They are words repugnant to the American ear, and while the rebel leaders can keep up to their misguided followers the idea that the North means conquest and subjugation, I fear that there is very little hope for any Union demonstration in the revolted States, however great the dissatisfaction against the Richmond government might be.

My own conviction has always been, that sooner or later we would have to come to a national convention for the reconstruction of one government over all the States. I cannot see by what other means, even after a complete defeat of the rebel armies, a restoration of the Union can be effected.

My impression is, that such a solution would, at the proper time, be acceptable to the majority of the Southern people, and I sent to Mr. Weed the letter which procured me the honor of receiving your note, for the very reason that I saw in it an indication of the writer's desire for a reconstruction of the Union. He is a very wealthy and

influential planter, and I have every reason to believe that a large number of his class share his views.

A few weeks ago, and previous to the receipt of that letter, I had written to Mr. Weed, giving him my candid views on our present situation and the means which I thought the government ought to adopt. I do not know whether he communicated to you my letter, but as you have been kind enough to evince a flattering confidence in the earnestness of my intentions, which must plead for the shortcoming of my judgment, I take the liberty of inclosing you herewith a copy of my letter to Mr. Weed, hoping that you may deem it worthy of your perusal.

The present moment may, perhaps, not be a propitious one for carrying on a negotiation in the manner in which I suggest. As soon, however, as we shall have again a large army in the field, such as we are sure to have under your energetic measures for recruiting, then I hope that you may find in your wisdom the means of opening negotiations with our misguided fellow-citizens of the South.

They must become convinced that we are fighting *only for the Union*, and that we cannot, in our own self-defence, as a nation, admit any other solution *but the Union*. I am certain that ere long reason must prevail over sectional passion, provided that your strong hand will equally crush the Secessionists of the South and the fanatical disorganizers of the North, who are both equally dangerous to the country and its institutions.

TO BARON LIONEL DE ROTHSCHILD,

London.

NEW YORK, November 25, 1862.

The Arabia's news from Liverpool to the 16th inst. is telegraphed from Cape Race, giving us the outline of M. Drouyn de l'Huys' circular on mediation, and the reply of Lord Russell, declining for the present to join in any overtures of that nature to our government.

The course pursued by your government is the only wise and politic one at this moment, and it is to be regretted that the French cabinet should have adopted this public mode of calling upon the European governments to interfere in our affairs. It has the appearance of a determination to force mediation upon the American government and people whether they want it or not. This will, I fear, produce a bad effect, and make mediation very unacceptable hereafter.

From the tenor of the European advices in general, it is evident that there exists a misapprehension, both in England and France, with regard to the intentions of the conservative party of the North, which has just carried the elections.

This party, while opposed to the ultra and arbitrary spirit of the administration, and while willing to secure to the South *her rights* guaranteed by the Constitution, *within the Union*, will not accept of any compromise which has not the reconstruction of but one government over all the thirty-four States for its basis. I have seen Governor Seymour, and many of the leaders of the Democratic party, and I am sure that this is the general programme laid down as the guide of their future action.

A national convention for the purpose of modifying our Constitution, in order to take away from the ultra men, South and North, the power of future mischief, and by a better defined limitation of Federal and State power, prevent the re-occurrence of the calamities which have now befallen us, can alone restore lasting peace and prosperity to

this country. Toward such a result the efforts of mediation of friendly powers might be directed—*any other solution is impossible.*

Under the same date, a letter to the same purpose was written to Baron James de Rothschild of Paris.

TO COLONEL E. G. W. BUTLER,
New Orleans, La.

NEW YORK, December 6, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR,—Our mutual friend, Mr. Butler Duncan, has given me your kind message contained in your recent letter to him.

Allow me to thank you most cordially for it in Mrs. Belmont's name and my own, and to assure you that it was very grateful to our feelings to hear that your lamented son remembered us kindly before his sad and premature death. These sentiments were most sincerely reciprocated by us.

We sympathize deeply with your bereavement, the extent of which we can fully appreciate by the rare qualities of heart and mind of the deceased which have endeared him to all who knew him.

I unite my prayers with yours, that it may please the Almighty to put a stop to this fratricidal war, which has desolated our once so happy country for the last eighteen months.

Unfortunately, designing and selfish politicians have, in both sections of the country, been allowed to falsify public opinion. I know that the vast majority of the Northern people are not Abolitionists, and that they are willing and ready to secure to the South all her Constitutional rights *within the Union*, under a most liberal construction. Our recent elections are a clear evidence of this, and I hope that the conservative men of the South will so view it. To a separation they will never consent, because they feel that a separation does not mean the formation of *two* powerful confederacies living alongside each other in peace and amity, but that it would be followed ere long by a total disintegration, and by the creation of half a dozen republics, swayed by military despotism, and soon destined to the same fate as Mexico and Central America.

One has only to look at the map of what two years ago constituted the United States, then the happiest and most prosperous

country on the face of the globe, in order to be convinced of the utter impossibility of a separation.

It is true the war which has been raging with so much fury on both sides, has inflicted much woe and suffering both North and South. Nobody deplores this more deeply than I do, and nobody worked harder to avert it.

Cannot the conservative men in both sections prevent a further duration of all this misery? There have been faults and errors on both sides, and the bitter fruits which they have borne are a sure guaranty against their recurrence.

Both sides have been taught to appreciate each other's patriotism, endurance, and courage. With all its miseries, this war has revealed to us and to the world the immense power and the inexhaustible resources of our country. We could, if reunited, confidently look forward to a destiny as a nation such as history has not yet witnessed and the brightness of which dazzles the wildest imagination.

And is all this to be sacrificed to sectional passion and prejudice, fanned by designing politicians for their own selfish ends!

Excuse me, I pray, for having allowed myself to be carried away on this topic, but I feel so deeply for our common country that I could not resist the impulse.

TO BARON LIONEL DE ROTHSCHILD, M. P.,
London.

NEW YORK, April 3, 1863.

MY DEAR BARON,—During my visit to Cuba I was very sorry to see the open aid and sympathy shown by the British Vice-Consul and other officials of Her Majesty at Havana to the rebel cause.

Young Crawford, who acts as Vice-Consul during the absence of his father, the British Consul-General, expresses himself not only at all times openly in favor of the rebels, but he is known to be himself actively engaged in carrying on a contraband trade with the South, and is said to have made a good deal of money by running the blockade.

Nearly all the vessels which run between Havana and the blockaded ports, are flying the English colors when they enter port, though being mostly small fishing smacks and schooners, they are undoubtedly owned at the South.

It is known that Crawford uses his official position to place these vessels under the British flag.

While I was at Havana, Mr. Helm, the Southern agent and commissioner, though in no official manner recognized by the Spanish government, gave a ball, and the captain of the British war steamer *Immortality*, Mr. Hancock, did not only attend with his whole staff, but he also sent his military band, which played during the whole evening. The room was decorated with the Confederate flag, and the musical performances, by a band of a British man-of-war, wearing Her Majesty's uniform, began by the rebel air of *Dixie*.

There was hardly anybody present except Southerners, the officers of the *Immortality*, and the British Vice-Consul, with some of his friends, the Cubans not dancing during Lent.

Apart from the questionable taste of such proceedings, there cannot be any doubt of their being in direct violation of the Queen's proclamation of neutrality.

They are not at all in accordance with the position assumed during this struggle by Her Majesty's government, and must meet with the disapproval of your ministry.

I hope you may have an opportunity to direct the attention of Lord Palmerston or Russell, to these facts, for the veracity of which I can vouch. They are calculated to produce a very bitter feeling among our people, while I am sure that the best interests of both governments call for a mutually kind and friendly policy, so ardently desired by all well-thinking men on both sides of the Atlantic.

We have nothing new in a military point of view, but it is generally believed that the attack on Charleston is near at hand, and it is hoped that it will be successful.

I find, on my return, a feeling for a vigorous prosecution of the war stronger than ever, and a complete unanimity of feeling against foreign intervention and any peace except upon the *basis of a reconstruction of the Union*.

The violent language of Jefferson Davis and his organs has produced quite a reaction at the North, and has silenced entirely the few *peace-at-any-price* men, who had sprung up after the elections of last November.

TO BARON LIONEL DE ROTHSCHILD, M. P.,

London.

NEW YORK, April 14, 1863.

DEAR BARON,—I have read with great interest the admirable speech of Lord Russell, which you sent me by your letter of 24th ult. The policy of neutrality and non-intervention is certainly now the only true and just one. I hope that your government will not only continue to *proclaim* it, but will also prevent more effectually than heretofore, its violations by its subjects and its officials.

Lord Russell's speech would have had an excellent effect here, but unfortunately the same steamer brought out the speeches of Lord Palmerston and the Solicitor-General, of the 27th ult., which breathe such an unkind and unfriendly spirit against the American people, that they will more than counterbalance the fair and honorable language of your Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Lord Palmerston's speech, particularly, is a most extraordinary exhibition, and contains principles and assertions which it will be impossible even for that distinguished statesman to sustain. He says that the British cabinet could not act against the *Alabama* upon the mere complaint and statement of Mr. Adams, and that unless evidence under oath was produced by the latter, the authorities would not have been justified in retaining her.

How could Mr. Adams furnish evidence, which it was the duty of the Crown officials to procure, through their police and courts of justice, after their attention had been called to the intended violation of the law of the land?

When, in 1855, the British Consul gave notice here, to our government, that the bark *Maury*, owned by one of our most respectable houses, was being fitted out as a privateer to cruise under the Russian flag, she was, on that mere suspicion, at once libelled by the United States authorities, and was not released until it was satisfactorily proved that she was not intended for such a purpose. This was done

at a time when the English government had numerous contracts in this country for the manufacture of Enfield rifles, and when our vessels were carrying troops and ammunition from English and French ports to the Crimea.

The selling of arms and the running of blockade by individuals is certainly a very different thing from the fitting out of ships of war and privateers, and while we can only regret the first, and take our measures against them, we have certainly a right to expect that a friendly power will protect us against the other.

The *Alabama* has been fitted out in an English port to prey upon our commerce, she forfeited her bond, or, in other words, the builders evaded the law by sacrificing their bail. Does this change the offence? Only three months ago the British Consul has asserted in my presence that the *Alabama*, having forfeited her bail, would be seized in any English port she should enter, and I naturally inferred from this that orders to that effect had gone to the different stations. Yet she has, since that time, been received, provisioned, and fêted in Kingston, and, for all I know, other ports of the British West Indies! She is now preying upon our commerce, and is recognized by your officials as a Confederate war vessel, though she has never as yet entered a Confederate port, and though the greater portion, if not all of her crew, are English subjects and foreigners.

How does the case and the attitude of the British government compare with the conduct of George Washington, immediately after the peace of the Revolutionary war.

The French republic, counting upon the sympathy of a young nation, the liberty of which they had just assisted to conquer, sent agents out here for the fitting out of privateers to prey upon British commerce. Washington not only took at once the most energetic steps against the violation of our neutrality, and seized the vessels in port, but he also *indemnified British subjects for the losses sustained by the few privateers which had managed to escape*. It is really inconceivable to see your leading statesmen make an assertion like the one made in the same speech by Lord Palmerston, viz., that British subjects had been seized and compelled to serve in this war against their will. It must be known to every child that such could not be the case, as no conscription has as yet taken place at the North, and it is further well known to the British Minister that it *was only in the Southern States* that Englishmen had been impressed into the service.

Lord Palmerston, as the head of the British cabinet, evinces in his speech a feeling of unfriendliness which will go far to bring about the most deplorable consequences, because I can assure you, that if your government is determined to allow the delivery and sailing of the war vessels destined for the Confederates, there will *be reprisals, and I fear war*. Our government does not wish it, and a member of the cabinet made a very strong speech here, on Saturday, against a war with England, but the irritation produced by the action of your officials has gained even the more influential and moderate leading men. Lord Russell says, at the conclusion of his speech, that he hopes England will never interfere except "*in the cause of liberty, and to promote the freedom of mankind.*" It would be well if England had acted upon this doctrine in the present contest. She would have secured forever the abolition of slavery throughout the world, while now she is assisting in riveting the fetters of the poor African for another century.

While in Cuba, I found all the Creole planters in favor of the South, and they based their partiality on the ground that, if the North succeed, slavery would be abolished in the United States, and then, of course, they would be compelled to emancipate their slaves also.

Let your statesmen and Southern sympathizers go to Cuba and see the fearful barbarity and misery of slavery there, and I fear they would find it more difficult to satisfy their conscience as easily as they seem to do their constituents for the course they have pursued toward our people in our hour of trouble.

I am glad to hear from you, that you have not taken any interest in the Confederate loan. It is a most reckless speculation, and I do not believe that the first dollar will ever be paid on it. The letter in the *London Times*, denying that Jefferson Davis was a leading advocate of repudiation in his State of Mississippi, is the most barefaced falsehood imaginable. Jeff. Davis ran for *State Senator*, for *Governor*, and for *United States Senator*, upon the distinct issue of repudiating the bonds of the State of Mississippi, issued to the banks, and sold by them to the United States Bank.

These gentlemen are bold and unscrupulous in their assertions to the British public, because they know that they are preaching to willing ears.

Only a few months ago Yancey, one of their Commissioners, declared at a public dinner in London, that he was opposed to the African Slave Trade. Well, in 1856 he made one of his most powerful

speeches, at a Southern Convention, in favor of that nefarious traffic, and appealing to the passions of his people, avowed already then, that the refusal of the Federal government to repeal the law of 1808 against the slave trade, was in itself a sufficient ground for the South to separate from the Union.

I am very much afraid that public opinion is so much roused against us that nothing will change the action of your government and people. On the other hand, demagogues will do their utmost to increase the irritation produced by the direct aid given by England and the English to the rebels.

The consequences which must arise from such a state of things can only be averted by great moderation and a cordial interchange of views on the part of the two governments.

TO LORD ROKEBY, LIEUT.-GENERAL, B. A.,
Montague House, London.

NEW YORK, May 7, 1863.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—We returned from Havana a few weeks ago, when I found your very kind letter. I am delighted to hear that you and yours continue to enjoy excellent health, and that you have passed a very pleasant winter in your family circle, notwithstanding that general society in Nice had not been on the same agreeable and cordial footing as the winter before. One hardly ever finds the same social resources two consecutive seasons at a small place of resort, and then the impetuous “*Prefette*” was sure, sooner or later, to conjure up a storm. She has entirely too much electricity to allow continued sunshine around her.

* * * * *

While I am morally convinced that our government, as well as the vast majority of our people, look upon a war with England as a fearful calamity, I must confess that the events of the last few months, and the tone of your leading papers, have filled me with the most gloomy apprehensions for the future.

The fitting out of armed war vessels, like the *Alabama*, *Florida*, and *Virginia*, in your ports, in open violation of the Queen’s proclamation and the foreign enlistment act, have produced a most painful feeling here, and I am afraid that it will require the greatest moderation and the most cordial understanding between the two governments to prevent complications of the gravest nature. I know that Mr. Lincoln, as well as his Secretary of State, are very desirous to maintain the most friendly relations with England, and I trust that they will be met by your ministers in the same spirit.

Ten days ago an intimate friend of Mr. Seward, and one of our most prominent and respected members of the bar, Mr. Evarts, went out to England on a semi-official mission from our government. He is to assist Mr. Adams in his endeavors to come to a more definite

and friendly understanding about the fitting out of privateers and other knotty questions, and I have the best hopes of his mission. I know him to be a very intelligent, upright, and well-disposed man.

I have taken the liberty of giving him a letter of introduction to you, being sure that you will gladly contribute, by your influence, to aid the good cause of peace and good-will between two kindred nations.

Mr. Evarts is an extremely well-informed man, and I am sure that you will derive pleasure and much valuable information in regard to our affairs from his acquaintance. You will oblige me, personally, very much, by extending that kindness and urbanity to him which I have received at your hands and which I value so much.

The newspapers give you detailed accounts of our present military position. I can safely say that our cause in the Southwest looks more favorable and hopeful than it has for many days past.

The successes of General Banks in Louisiana have placed the most fertile part of that State under Federal control. I have every reason to hope that we shall soon hold the Mississippi and compel the Confederates to evacuate Vicksburg.

The hopes of the whole nation are at this moment centred upon the army under Hooker, who has crossed the Rappahannock with his entire force, and is probably at this moment engaged in battle with the enemy. He has one hundred and forty thousand men under him, his army is in excellent condition, and his friends are very sanguine of success. God grant that these expectations may be realized.

In the stress in which the rebels are for food and all the necessities of life, a signal defeat of their main army may bring us to an end of the war, by the re-establishment of the Federal authority over the old Union. On the other hand, a defeat of our army will only prolong the strife. The people of the North have never been so determined as they are now to carry on the war until the integrity of the government is re-established.

In this regard a most decided change has taken place, even among the ultra opponents of the administration. The men who were willing to purchase peace even at the surrender of our nationality, and whose number and influence were increasing last autumn and winter by the mismanagement of the Washington cabinet, have been entirely put in the background.

The North is at this moment more unanimous in support of the government and the war than it has been at any time since the beginning of this

unfortunate struggle. Of this there can be no doubt, and I see in it the undeniable certainty that the war will never end except by the rebellion being crushed.

An evidence that the people have the utmost confidence in such an ultimate result, is in the eagerness with which, for the last two months, the people of all classes have invested their money in the securities of the government. The subscriptions to the Federal loan average over three million of dollars a day.

The North is united and prosperous, while at the South they are not only in sad want of the elements of life, but serious misunderstandings have broken out between the Richmond authorities and some of the States, particularly the State of Georgia, the most powerful and influential of the Confederacy. The latter opposes the conscription act, and refuses to guarantee the bonds of the Confederacy, notwithstanding a resolution of the Confederate Congress to that effect.

We found Havana very hot and unpleasant. The people do not know what comfort and cleanliness mean, and an Italian *albergo* is a palace in comparison with their best hotels. We went to some of the plantations of the wealthiest nabobs of the island, and it is really difficult to believe, that within five days' sail from New York, people of wealth and education should live in such a state of semi-barbarism as I have seen there.

All this is the direct consequence of slavery, which exists on the Spanish sugar plantations in the most revolting form. It is exercised with the most inhuman cruelty on the poor black, and degenerates the white both morally and physically.

I found the Cuban planters generally in favor of the South, because they openly avowed that they saw in the success of the North the end of slavery in the United States, and that they would also be compelled to set their negroes free. You see, thus, that the aid and sympathy which the rebellion receives by a portion of your people, can only be construed into a direct assistance to uphold and perpetuate a most inhuman and degrading institution.

I was very sorry to see the British Vice-Consul, Mr. Crawford, not only an open, uncompromising, and bitter Secessionist, but also to find him engaged in transactions directly opposed to the Queen's proclamation of neutrality, and entirely incompatible with the dignity of his office. It was generally known in Havana that he was openly engaged in running the blockade, and using his office to assist Confederate

vessels to evade our cruisers under the British flag, etc., etc. It was under his auspices that, during my stay in Havana, the captain of the British war-steamer, the *Immortality*, a Mr. Hancock, sent the band of his ship to play at a party given by the Southern commissioner, Mr. Helm. The Cubans themselves were astonished to see a British officer allow his band to play rebel airs under the rebel flag, and expressed their opinion pretty freely at so questionable a proceeding. How far all these acts are reconcilable with the professions of strict neutrality I must leave to others to explain, but no fair-minded man can be astonished that they should excite bitterness and mortification.

TO THE HON. W. H. SEWARD,
Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, May 18, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR,—I received this morning a letter from Baron Rothschild, M. P. for the city of London, to whom I had given a letter of introduction in favor of Mr. Evarts. He writes me :—

“I thank you for your information about the mission of Mr. W. M. Evarts, and shall be very glad to see him and to introduce him to some of the leading men of our government and Parliament.

“This mission seems to show a desire to preserve friendly relations with us, and nothing will contribute more to accomplish this object than for it to be known that a sincere feeling of the kind exists.”

I take the liberty of communicating this extract to you, supposing that it will interest you. Baron Rothschild, who is on very intimate terms with Lord Russell and the prominent members of the British cabinet, has for some time past given me repeated assurances of the earnest desire of the English ministry to maintain friendly relations with us, and to prevent, as far as it could do, any violation of neutrality on the part of British subjects.

TO THE HON. W. H. SEWARD,
Washington, D. C.

NEWPORT, R. I., July 6, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR,—Allow me to congratulate you on the success of our brave army and navy under its new leader. I hope and pray this may be the forerunner of a series of decisive Union victories, and that we may at last see the end of this unholy rebellion.

If the President were now, at this moment, when the whole North is electrified by our victory, to make a call upon the loyal States for three hundred thousand volunteers for the duration of the war, to be partially sent to the army, and partially to camps of instruction, his call would be promptly and eagerly responded to. Besides that, he ought to call upon the militia of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey to man the forts around Washington with forty to fifty thousand men, which would enable the thirty thousand men, veteran troops, under Heintzelman, to swell the Potomac army, and assist in finishing up Lee's army.

Our army under Dix and Keyes ought at once to be re-enforced by fifty thousand men at least, and then the capture, not only of Richmond, but of the rebel army in Virginia, could be made secure.

The same number of men ought to be sent to New Orleans, and, if possible, three or four of our iron-clads, who are wasting their time before Charleston, a point only important for *prestige*, or to gratify a just resentment, while the Mississippi is the keystone of the whole rebel fabric.

Bank's position is not at all what it ought to be, and if Vicksburg does not fall very soon, we stand a fair chance of losing New Orleans, or having to destroy the city, which would be as bad.

I have no doubt but what the administration is keenly alive to the vital importance of quick and energetic action, but I thought I might venture to make you the above suggestions.

If we miss this time for a final death-blow to the hideous monster, we may never again have another chance.

TO THE HON. W. H. SEWARD,
Washington, D. C.

NEWPORT, July 20, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR,—My last letters from England are not quite as favorable in regard to the attitude of the British cabinet on the question of joining France in the recognition of the Southern Confederacy, as all my previous advices have been hitherto.

My advices from well-informed friends had, until now, invariably most emphatically contradicted the many rumors of recognition and joint action by the French and English governments, set afloat for the last eighteen months by the Southern sympathizers.

The Palmerston ministry was, until now, a unit in its opposition to any departure from the strict neutrality observed since the beginning (if not in feeling, at least in official words and acts). It seems, however, now, that under the pressure of the press and a powerful opposition, and by the manœuvres of French diplomacy, but more than all, probably, under the influences of our reverses under Hooker, a minority in the ministry has changed its views, and has become favorable to an immediate recognition of the South, conjointly with France. At the last dates this was only a minority in the cabinet, but as for at least twelve days after the news from this side will continue most unfavorable to the Union cause, I fear that other members of the cabinet may change front, and that the British government may commit itself to some hasty action, from which it would be difficult to recede. There is no doubt but what all the late Southern movements have been principally directed toward the accomplishment of foreign recognition, soon to be *followed by foreign aid*. The mission of Stephens was planned and based upon the hopes of success on the part of Lee, and I have very little doubt but what the riots in New York were instigated by rebel agents, and were to serve as a prominent part of

the schemes by which the utter hopelessness of a further struggle on the part of the North was to be made manifest to the world.

These schemes have been foiled by the bravery of our army, but it strikes me that our government might profit by the present moment in order to avoid forever hereafter the danger of foreign interference, which, with the known tendencies and sympathies of Napoleon, will always remain a strong incentive to the South for further resistance.

I think that the best and most statesmanlike step to be taken by the President at this juncture, when unprecedented successes have crowned our arms, would be issuing a proclamation addressed to the *people* of the revolted States, inviting them to return to their allegiance to the United States, to withdraw their citizens from the army of the so-called Confederacy, and to elect members to the Congress of the United States.

TO THE HON. W. H. SEWARD,
Washington, D. C.

PARIS, November 29, 1863.

MY DEAR SIR,—My departure for Europe was so sudden, and my contemplated stay here so short, that I hardly thought it worth while to apprise you of my voyage to London and Paris, and to offer you my services in both places.

During the four days that I remained in London I have, however, had opportunities to meet and converse with several members of the ministry and leading men in Parliament. The general tone of all these gentlemen was much more friendly to the cause and position of our government than I had anticipated. From all I could gather, there is certainly no danger that England will join France in any movement toward recognition of the South.

The ministers seem fully aware of the mistake they committed in allowing the *Alabama* to proceed to sea, and they are determined, at all hazards, to stop the sailing of the iron-clads. Laird has put in a plea, first, that they were destined for a French house, and then that they were for the Pasha of Egypt—the government has proofs in hand that both these statements are false.

Lord Russell will probably ask for more ample powers from Parliament immediately after its meeting, to enable him to stop these vessels and enforce a strict observance of neutrality by British subjects. Both he and Mr. Villiers, brother of Lord Clarendon, and one of Her Majesty's Privy Council, have expressed themselves in very flattering terms with regard to Mr. Evarts, whose mission, they said, was very beneficial and useful, as he gave them very valuable information about many points bearing upon our neutrality laws. Your friend and agent has evidently left a very good impression in the government circles.

I am informed by people who are apt to know, that, with the exception of Gladstone and Palmerston, the members of the cabinet are all in favor of the North. Still, we must not shut our eyes to the fact that

the taking of Vicksburg, and our successes last summer, have a good deal to do with this attitude of the British cabinet, and that any serious reverses of our armies in Virginia or Tennessee would be followed by a strong pressure on the ministry for recognition, not only by the opposition at home, but also by France.

There is one point in connection with this which I wish to recommend to your earnest consideration. The sensitiveness on the part of Englishmen of all ranks, with reference to every thing which is said, done, and written in America, is most extraordinary, and the attacks in our papers against the British government have not only the effect to estrange the good-will of our friends, but also to strengthen the hands of the opposition. Even the small matter of the discussion in regard to our inviting the French and English officers to the banquet lately given in New York to the Russians, had ruffled the temper of every Englishman I came in contact with.

To give you an instance of the interest with which every information from America is received, I will only mention to you that upon the arrival of Sir Henry Holland, about ten days ago, Lord Palmerston immediately sent him a telegraphic dispatch inviting him to Broadlands, and within an hour afterward he received a similar invitation to Pembroke Lodge, from Earl Russell. I am told that Sir Henry speaks in the kindest terms of the reception he received, and that he is very much pleased with his interview with you and the President. My object in mentioning to you these details is to suggest to you how far it might appear practicable and advisable to you to exert the influence of the government with our leading papers to adopt a more conciliatory tone toward England—this I should think you could easily accomplish with such papers as the *New York Times* and other organs of the Republican party.

The *London Times* continues its bitter vituperations against us, but it does not represent its government and its party, and the best way to neutralize its pernicious influence is not to notice its attacks.

I have not been in Paris long enough to form a correct opinion of what is going on here, still, thus far all confirms me in the impression which I had formed during my last residence here, viz., that the French Emperor is the principal person from whom danger to us is to be apprehended. Luckily, it seems as if he was to have his hands full in Europe. The Polish question has assumed a very threatening aspect, and I don't see how it can be solved without a war. Thus far

the British government seems determined not to join France in a war, but the English people are all very strongly in favor of Poland, and public opinion may force the Palmerston ministry as it did, seven years ago, that of Lord Aberdeen. Apart from the Polish cloud, the Emperor finds his policy in Mexico to become daily less popular with the French people, and I have no doubt but what he has already, ere this, very much modified his brilliant aspirations of French trans-atlantic power. Added to this is the deficit in the budget, which will make a resort to a new loan more than probable, a measure not at all desirable in the present state of the money market and the low prices of the "Rentes." Nearly all the governments on the Continent are likely to want money very soon, and so a general uneasiness pervades financial circles. With such a state of things there is not much danger that Napoleon will think of interfering with us. The government has stopped the further construction of the four war vessels which were being built in French ports for the Confederates.

Notwithstanding all this the Secessionists here, and their number is legion, are very confident of an early recognition and assistance on the part of France. It is said that their Vice-President, Stephens, is expected here, when he will make the most liberal offers for recognition and alliance. He will even, it is expected, go so far as to agree to a gradual emancipation of slavery, on the part of the Richmond authorities. It is impossible to trace these rumors to any trustworthy source, but it is certain that the rebel agents here are as active as they are numerous and unscrupulous.

SPEECHES.

SPEECH AT JONES'S WOOD, NEW YORK.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1860.

FELLOW DEMOCRATS,—I thank you most cordially for the honor which you confer upon me by permitting me to preside over your deliberations on this occasion. It is an occasion the importance of which cannot be impressed too much upon our minds. We have come together in order to pledge our support to the nominations of our National and State Conventions, determined to withhold the thirty-five electoral votes of the great Empire State from Abraham Lincoln, and thus to save the glorious Republic from the horrors of disunion and anarchy. We have come together to listen to the heart-stirring eloquence of our noble and gallant standard-bearers, Stephen A. Douglas, the bold and fearless champion of the Constitution and the rights of the people, and Herschel V. Johnson, the patriot and the statesman. In order to share this rare privilege with you, I have sacrificed the pleasing duty of attending the celebration by which the city of Cleveland honored this week the memory of an illustrious kinsman of my family. It is forty-seven years since the gallant Perry fought and conquered, after a most bloody struggle against fearful odds, the enemies of his country on Lake Erie. Let us this day pledge our united and unwavering energies to fight and conquer the enemies of the Constitution and the Union, arrayed against us by sectional fanaticism North and South. We are fighting for the maintenance of our beloved and blessed Union, and the sacredness of our cause should give us the victory. Let us, then, advance to the charge, and the lion-hearted Democracy of this vast Republic, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, will in November next inscribe on its banners the memorable words of Perry, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

SPEECH AT COOPER INSTITUTE, NEW YORK.

NOVEMBER 4, 1860.

FELLOW CITIZENS,—In thanking you for the honor which you have conferred upon me, I cannot refrain from addressing you a few brief remarks at this critical juncture of our political affairs.

In less than four days you will be called upon to record your votes at an election, upon the result of which depends not only the preservation of your property, and the prosperity of your native city, but also the very existence of this great and vast Republic.

Whatever the Republican leaders may say to the contrary, I fear that the election of Mr. Lincoln to the presidential chair must prove the forerunner of a dissolution of this confederacy amid all the horrors of civil strife and bloodshed.

I know that Mr. Lincoln's friends claim for him sentiments of patriotic and conservative attachment to the Union. But of what avail can these sentiments be, even if they do exist, from the moment that he consents to become the standard-bearer of a sectional party holding principles incompatible with the sacred obligations of the Constitution, and arrayed in open and unrelenting hostility against the property and the institutions of the fairest portion of our common country.

But, my friends and fellow-laborers in the cause of the Union, with God's blessing we must not give our opponents a chance to carry out their fair promises, or their boasting taunts.

I do not believe the great State of New York, which under the beneficent influences of our institutions has grown up to a mighty empire in herself, will ever give her casting vote in favor of fanatical sectionalism.

I will not believe that the City of New York, which owes her proud position as the first commercial emporium of the world to the blessings of our Union, can ever be unmindful of her duty to the Union. I have an abiding faith in the unflinching courage of our indomitable Democracy, which has carried its victorious banner through many a hard-fought battle. And last, though not least, my friends, I place implicit trust in the energetic co-operation of those patriotic and conservative men, the members of the time-honored Whig party, who, forgetting all past differences, and only mindful of their

unwavering attachment to the Union, have united with us to fight the common enemy.

When in 1850 the hydra of sectionalism and disunion first raised her hideous head, we saw the great statesmen of the Republic lay aside all differences on minor topics of internal or foreign policy, and by one united effort crush the treasonable monster. Then the immortal Webster stood side by side with the eloquent and Union-loving Henry S. Foote; then the patriot and statesman, John Bell, fought shoulder to shoulder with the honored veteran of Democracy, Lewis Cass; and the cherished idol of the American heart, the great Henry Clay, was linked hand in hand with the unflinching and patriotic champion of the Constitution, Stephen A. Douglas.

The work then so nobly begun by our great leaders is now to be completed by the united efforts of the American people. From the snow-clad hills of the far North to the blooming savannahs of the sunny South, from the rolling waves of the Atlantic to the golden shores of our empire on the Pacific, the hopes and fears of every American patriot are centred at this moment in New York. Will you allow these hopes to be disappointed? No! before another week shall have passed away I trust that the mighty Empire State will have redeemed herself from Republican misrule, and preserved the Union from the calamities of a sectional administration.

SPEECH TO FIRST N. Y. REGIMENT OF RIFLES.

MAY 15, 1861.

COLONEL BLENKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE FIRST REGIMENT OF RIFLES,—
I have the honor to present this stand of colors to your regiment. It is the flag which for three-quarters of a century has been hailed in every quarter of the inhabited globe as the emblem of Constitutional liberty, and the beacon of hope to the oppressed of all nations.

In rushing with generous ardor to the rescue of our flag, you have given to your fellow-citizens a most gratifying proof of the patriotism and the devotion of our German population to the land of their adoption and choice. A large number of you have fled from oppression and tyranny in the Old World, after having in vain shed your blood for the liberties of your country on many a hard-fought battle-field in Hungary and Germany.

You have found on these hospitable shores protection, freedom, and loving hearts, and in offering now the sacrifice of your lives on the altar of your adopted country you pay a debt of gratitude for the blessings vouchsafed to you under our liberal institutions.

Our most fervent prayers follow you to the path of duty and honor which you have chosen. May the Almighty, who has thus far showered His choicest blessings upon our cherished Union, protect her brave defenders. May He watch over you in the hour of danger, and may He grant you to return in safety to your homes and firesides after every star in this bright constellation shall have been restored, to abide with its sisters in union and peace to the end of time.

SPEECH AT TAMMANY HALL, NEW YORK,

JULY 4, 1862.

MR. GRAND SACHEM AND GENTLEMEN,—I am extremely obliged to you for the high honor you bestow upon me, and the cordiality with which you welcome me home. I am deeply impressed and entirely taken by surprise; however, I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

I have been absent from my country for the last ten months, compelled to a temporary residence abroad by illness in my family. It was a source of heartfelt regret for me to be away from home, and from my friends in their dark hour of trial. I cannot describe to you the anxiety and sorrow with which I watched the progress of our gallant army and navy, but when I saw from month to month the energy and patriotism of our people rise stronger and higher under every adversity, anxieties were relieved, and my fervent hopes and conviction in the ultimate reconstruction of the Union confirmed.

I come home at a dark and gloomy moment of the struggle in which we are engaged. It seems as if Providence had decreed this momentary reverse of our heroic army in order to admonish us, on this anniversary of our National Independence, that it will require the whole energy of our people if we mean to leave to our children the blessed inheritance bestowed by the fathers of our Republic. We have to deal with an enemy arrayed in relentless strife against our institutions, and the best interests of humanity, and it will require the undivided and gigantic efforts of an united people to save our country and our Union.

There is no sacrifice too great, none which we should not most cheerfully make in order to help the government at this moment. We want more troops, more money, and every thing good and loyal citizens can give to their country in this hour of danger.

Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to conclude by giving the following sentiment:—

“Our country, the object of our dearest affections; may she ever find her sons worthy of her, and ready to sacrifice their lives and their treasure in her defence, against domestic traitors or foreign foes.”

LETTER TO UNION MEETING AT NEWPORT, R. I.

BELLEVUE AVENUE, August 9, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR,—I regret extremely that being called by pressing engagements to New York, it will not be in my power to comply with your kind invitation to address the mass meeting to be held in Touro Park on Monday next.

It would have been a source of sincere gratification to me to meet my fellow-citizens of Newport on this momentous occasion, and to raise my feeble voice in aid of the sacred cause of the Union and the Constitution, for which the President has made so well-timed and earnest an appeal to the patriotism of our people.

The South, misled by the teachings of reckless politicians, has in its mad efforts to destroy our common country, shown an energy and determination worthy of a better cause. Throughout the revolted States every able-bodied man, from the age of 16 to 60, is at this moment in arms against those glorious institutions bequeathed to us by the fathers of the Republic, and which until now had rendered our country the admiration and envy of the civilized world. If we mean successfully to withstand their wicked onslaughts, if we intend to preserve to our children the precious inheritance of Constitutional liberty, if we hope to save from disgrace and defeat the sacred symbol of our greatness and our liberties, that banner which floated victoriously over every battle-field until betrayed and attacked by its own children, then we must at once obey the call of duty, and rush without a moment's delay to the support of our government.

Whatever may be thought or said by our domestic and foreign foes, in order to exaggerate our losses in the late battles before Richmond, and generally to underrate our gallant army and navy, we can proudly point to numerous victories, and immense advantages which we have gained over the rebels in last year's campaign. We hold New Orleans and the Mississippi, the very artery of their existence, and the Federal flag has a stronghold in every one of the revolted States. I am firmly convinced that with the additional forces which the government intends to put into the field, and which the people will cheerfully and promptly place at its disposal, we can and will crush the rebellion before the end of the year.

Once the Confederate army conquered and dispersed, and we shall see the South cast loose from their wicked leaders, and returning eagerly to share with us the blessings of that Union to which alone we chiefly owed our former greatness and prosperity.

Rhode Island has ever been foremost in the defence of our national liberties, and I have no doubt your meeting will prove a new incentive to her sons to follow the noble example of their fathers and brothers, who on many a battlefield have sealed with their blood their undying love for their country.

Incapacitated by lameness from bearing arms in the defence of our country, I am still desirous to do my share as a good citizen in the hour of our national trial. I beg to suggest to you that a fund be raised by subscription for the support of the needy families of the soldiers from this city or State. If this proposition meets with the approval of our citizens, I am prepared to give \$1,000 to the committee which your meeting may deem proper to appoint for the collection of subscriptions and the judicious distribution of funds. The brave soldier will fight with a better heart when he knows that those whom he has left behind are cared for by those who cannot share his danger and his glory.

Yours, very truly,

(Signed)

AUGUST BELMONT.

TO WILLIAM H. CRANSTON,
Mayor of Newport.

SPEECH AT MEETING IN NEWPORT, R. I.

SEPTEMBER, 1862.

FELLOW-CITIZENS,—It is with extreme diffidence and hesitation that I comply with the flattering invitation of your worthy Mayor to address you this evening. I feel, however, that it is the duty of every good citizen, at this moment, to exert what influence he may be able to command, and so I will also raise my feeble and inexperienced voice in the good cause of the Union and the Constitution. We meet here to-night in the midst of the most fearful crisis of our nation's history. A century has not passed away, and the magnificent edifice raised by the fathers of the Republic to last for all time, and which already spreads its protecting dome from ocean to ocean, is tottering to its very foundations. A deep-laid conspiracy, fanned by sectional passion and reckless leaders into open rebellion, has at last assumed the proportions of a gigantic revolution, against which the immense resources placed by our people at the disposal of the government, have thus far proved powerless.

When the rebellion first broke out, the North, conscious of its strength and the righteousness of its cause, thought that it could, with a slight effort and in a short time, crush it and vindicate the superiority of the law. Our army, hastily collected, full of bravery and patriotism, but badly armed, drilled, and commanded, was, by the insane clamor of meddling politicians, hurled against the fortified stronghold of the rebels, selected and defended by skilful and experienced generals. We suffered a most disastrous defeat—our army was decimated and demoralized, and hardly could claim any longer the name of an army.

The battle of Bull Run was a sad and terrible blow to the Union cause, but we derived one great benefit from it. The government and people awoke to the conviction that political partisans and editors, however meritorious and talented they may be in their sphere, were not the men to lead our brave soldiers to victory. They had to stand aside to make room for the young chieftain called by the President to save the Republic, threatened at the very seat of the Federal government.

George B. McClellan came. Out of chaos and utter confusion he created one of the finest armies of modern days, and that in a space of time not longer than it took military France, with a standing army of five hundred thousand men, to prepare for her last Italian campaign. Then we saw Burnside in the

South, and Halleck in the West, drive the rebels like chaff before them ; then, under the well-matured plans of our young commander-in-chief, success followed for months our arms, wherever our brave army and gallant navy carried the stars and stripes.

But here again political meddlers and ambitious demagogues step in and arrest our victorious progress. They stop recruiting when men were more than ever wanted to finish up the good work so well begun ; they deprive McClellan of the chief command ; they interfere with his plans ; they reduce his forces, and thus doom our brave Army of the Potomac to defeat and disaster, when months ago Richmond would have been ours had McClellan been left untrammelled. Congress, instead of contenting itself with voting supplies for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and declaring, by an unequivocal attitude, that this war is carried on solely and purely for the Union, the Constitution, and the maintenance of the laws, again throws the apple of discord among us by ill-timed and ill-advised legislation on slavery. Military commanders in Missouri, South Carolina, and Louisiana follow the pernicious example, and instead of attending to their duties as soldiers, issue unauthorized and unconstitutional proclamations calculated to irritate and embitter the South, and estrange it still more from the Union. It is true Mr. Lincoln, whose good and conservative intentions nobody can doubt, disavows these proclamations, but Fremont, Hunter, and Phelps were kept in command by the influence of their Abolition friends, and soon we see the unhappy results of all this.

The South, where, only a few months back, more than one-third of the population was utterly opposed to secession, becomes united as one man ; they follow blindly those very leaders against whom so many had battled to the last, but whose predictions that this war was waged by us for abolition and destruction of Southern property, they see now on the eve of being verified.

On the other hand, the North, which, with unexampled unanimity and total oblivion of all party distinctions, had rushed to the defence of our flag, becomes, now, distracted and divided. It was, and is still, ready to fight for the Union and the Constitution, but it is not ready to initiate a war of extermination, and to plunge the South into all the horrors of a servile insurrection. You have seen the fearful consequences of these dissensions and the intermeddling of ignorant politicians and demagogues ; our brave soldiers given up to the command of inefficient generals, the flower of our army sacrificed to their ignorance and incapacity, Washington in danger, Maryland invaded, and Pennsylvania threatened.

And now again, as a year ago, the government has to call upon McClellan to save the sinking fortunes of the Republic. For months past he had been introduced and vilified in the halls of Congress and on the floor of the Senate ; his capacity and courage—nay, even his loyalty—questioned by a large portion of the Abolition press ; the brave troops, who almost worship him, had been, regi-

ment after regiment, withdrawn from his command, until the man who had created the Army of the Potomac was left with barely a corporal's guard, while his veteran soldiers were slaughtered by the reckless ignorance of spurious heroes pushed forward by clamorous politicians. He bore all with the fortitude and resignation of a true patriot; he did not issue vaunting proclamations, and he treated the attacks of his enemies with the silent contempt which they merited. Upon the call of his government he quietly and modestly assumed again the high and fearfully responsible position assigned to him. His advent was hailed by the army, and every true lover of the Union, with hopeful joy. Victory, which seemed to have forsaken us forever, perches again upon our glorious banner, and in less than a fortnight from the day on which he assumed command over a beaten and disorganized army, he drives the hungry hordes of Jefferson Davis from the soil of loyal Maryland, upon which they had fallen like a swarm of devastating locusts.

We have now, at the head of our army, Halleck and McClellan, the two men whom the veteran Scott, the hero of a hundred battles, had designated as his worthy successors. Under their leadership our brave army will march on to victory, but if we mean to bring this terrible war to a speedy end, we must furnish more men to fill up our ranks.

My own conviction is, that in order to crush the rebellion we must have one million of men in the field—one-half to be employed in Virginia to beat and disperse the rebel army, the other half to sweep down the Mississippi with an overwhelming force which would make all further resistance hopeless. The rebel Congress has just called out every able-bodied man in the Confederate States between thirty-five and forty-five years old. They expect, thus, to raise three hundred thousand more men, in addition to the three or four hundred thousand whom they have already under arms. This is their last throw in the fearful game in which they are engaged, and you may depend on it they will play it to the bitter end with the recklessness of despair.

The crisis is at hand which is to decide whether we are ever again to be a free and powerful nation, or whether this most wicked and causeless rebellion shall succeed in destroying our liberties and lowering our country to the level of Mexico and Central America. Shall history record that twenty millions, defending the most sacred cause for which nation ever drew the sword, were overcome by one-third their number who had raised their fratricidal hands against the best of governments? No, it cannot, it must not be!

Men of Rhode Island, the Republic is in danger! Our free institutions, the memory of the past, the hopes of the future, all call upon you to march forth in your country's cause. Leave your wives and children trustingly behind—a grateful people will protect and care for them. Do not allow demagogues and fanatics to distract you from the legitimate and holy purpose for which alone this war is to be carried on. Inscribe on your banner that you fight for the "*Union as*

it was, and the Constitution as it is," and God will bless your arms and give you the victory.

And to you who, like me, are deprived by age or physical incapacity of the privilege of drawing your swords in the defence of our liberties, to you I appeal to contribute your money liberally to the good cause which we have all so much at heart. Many a brave and loyal man is only deterred from joining our army by the fear that in his absence his family might suffer want. I have already, on a former occasion, suggested the raising of funds by subscriptions for the purpose of providing for the families of soldiers in this city. I now again renew my suggestions and my offer to subscribe for such a fund. If carried into effect in a judicious and energetic manner, it will do much toward swelling the ranks of the Union defenders.

SPEECH AT THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

AUGUST 29. 1864.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION,—We are assembled here to-day as the National Democratic Convention, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States. This task, at all times a most important and arduous one, has, by the sad events of our civil war, assumed an importance and responsibility of the most fearful nature. Never, since the formation of our government, has there been an assemblage, the proceedings of which were fraught with more momentous and vital results than those which must flow from your action.

Toward you, gentlemen, are directed at this moment the anxious fears and doubts, not only of millions of American citizens, but also of every lover of civil liberty throughout the world. In your hands rests, under the ruling of an all-wise Providence, the future of this Republic. Four years of misrule, by a sectional, fanatical, and corrupt party, have brought our country to the very verge of ruin. The past and present are sufficient warnings of the disastrous consequences which would befall us if Mr. Lincoln's re-election should be made possible by our want of patriotism and unity. The inevitable results of such a calamity must be the utter disintegration of our whole political and social system amidst bloodshed and anarchy, with the great problems of liberal progress and self-government jeopardized for generations to come.

The American people have at last awakened to the conviction that a change of policy and administration can alone stay our downward course; and they will rush to the support of your candidate and platform, provided you will offer to their suffrage a tried patriot, who has proved his devotion to the Union and the Constitution, and provided that you pledge him and yourselves to maintain that hallowed inheritance by every effort and sacrifice in your power.

Let us, at the very outset of our proceedings, bear in mind that the dissensions of the last Democratic Convention were one of the principal causes which gave the reins of government into the hands of our opponents; and let us beware not to fall again into the same fatal error. We must bring to the altar of our country the sacrifice of our prejudices, opinions, and convictions—however dear and long cherished they may be—from the moment they threaten the harmony and

unity of action so indispensable to our success. We are here, not as war Democrats, nor as peace Democrats, but as citizens of the great Republic, which we will strive to bring back to its former greatness and prosperity, without one single star taken from the brilliant constellation that once encircled its youthful brow. Let pure and disinterested patriotism, tempered by moderation and forbearance, preside over our deliberations, and, under the blessings of the Almighty, the sacred cause of the Union, the Constitution, and the Laws must prevail against fanaticism and treason.

SPEECH AT THE NEW YORK RATIFICATION MEETING.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1864.

FELLOW CITIZENS,—I thank you for the honor which you confer upon me. This enthusiastic uprising of the Democracy of the Empire City, for the purpose of ratifying the nomination of General McClellan and George H. Pendleton for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, is a sure indication of what New York intends to do on the 8th of November next. While at Chicago as a delegate from our State, I pledged New York City to roll up a majority of 50,000 for our candidates. I am now sure that I did not promise too much, and that you will redeem my pledge. We are engaged in a great and noble contest. It is not only the election of a favored candidate, but it is the salvation of the Republic, the restoration of the Union, and the vindication of the Constitution and the laws, which will be the fruits of our victory.

Four years ago, when I had the honor to preside at the last Democratic meeting held before the presidential election, I predicted that Mr. Lincoln's election would be the forerunner of a dissolution of the Union amidst war and bloodshed. How terribly have events verified my fears. The issue before the American people is just as grave and momentous now as it was then. The electors throughout the loyal States will have to choose between war and disunion, which must be the inevitable results of Mr. Lincoln's re-election, or an early, honorable, and lasting peace, based upon the Union and the Constitution, which can only be secured under the conservative, Democratic, and national administration of General McClellan.

Our candidate pledges himself and his administration to such a result in his admirable letter of acceptance, and he has proved to the American people that he knows how to keep his promises. Two years ago to-day he redeemed his pledge to save Washington and the Northern States from the victorious army of Lee, on the bloody battle-field of Antietam. Hardly a week before, the hero of the Peninsula, the man who had created the Army of the Potomac, the general under whose wise and far-seeing combinations Roanoke, Fort Donelson, and New Orleans fell into our hands, had been left without the command of a single man, and had offered to his enemies in power to share the fate of his comrades as a common soldier in the defence of our Union. *It was only* when Lee's forces thundered at the gates of Washington, that Lincoln,

Stanton, and Halleck, that glorious trio of military science and genius, called upon the man whom they had so disgracefully treated to save them. The capital they were willing to give up; but McClellan knew the cost of the loss of Washington; once in the hands of the rebels, an immediate recognition of the Richmond usurper by the foreign governments, and the inevitable independence of the South.

He took command of a beaten, discouraged, and shattered army; his heroic followers knew their leader, and within three weeks from the day that he assumed command, the remnant of Lee's beaten army had to seek safety in flight. And how was McClellan rewarded for this brilliant campaign? By being again deprived of his command, in the most unjustifiable and arbitrary manner, and by a system of persecution from that day forward, of which history shows hardly a more disgraceful example. It was my good fortune to see General McClellan shortly after his last campaign, and when I expressed to him my astonishment that he consented again to take command with Halleck and Stanton in the War Department, after the shameful manner with which they had ruined his plans in the Peninsula, he replied to me: "I knew to what I was exposing myself, but the country was in danger, and I had no right to make conditions." And this is the man who, for two years past, has been traduced and vilified by every Republican paper throughout the land, and who has been represented to the American people as disloyal to the Union and the Constitution, and sympathizing with the rebels of the South!

We are told that the Democratic party is the party of disunion, and that we are the friends of Jefferson Davis and his rebel government. Hundreds of thousands of brave Democrats who have bled on the field of battle for the sacred cause of the Union and the Constitution have not been sufficient to silence this foul calumny!

But what do the Southern Secessionists say of the Northern friends whom Seward and Greeley persist in attaching to their interest? Ever since the nomination of McClellan, the organs of Jeff. Davis throughout the South, are loud and earnest in their denunciations of his election. They see in it a sure forerunner of a division at the South, which must pave the way to a speedy return of the revolted States to their allegiance to the Union, and they dread the name of McClellan as our banner-bearer more than they do that of Grant and his army. The Richmond *Enquirer* of the 6th instant, after reviewing the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties, concludes by saying: "Thus, whether we look at this nomination in the light of peace or of war, we prefer Lincoln to McClellan, for we can make better terms of peace with an anti-slavery fanatic than with an earnest Unionist. Our best hope is from the honest fanatics of the North; such men, when they see their people are tired of the war, will end it by peace that sacrifices territory to freedom, and will let the South go, provided she carries slavery with her."

Yes, gentlemen, the election of General McClellan will be a more severe blow to Jefferson Davis than the fall of Richmond. Let every one, therefore, aid in the great and good work before us. We have fearful odds to overcome. The Secessionists of the South and the fanatical disorganizers of the North are both arrayed against us; but with the Union, the Constitution, and the laws inscribed on our banner, and McClellan as our leader, the victory must be ours.

SPEECH AT MEETING, COOPER INSTITUTE.

NOVEMBER 2, 1864.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN,—I am deeply grateful for this kind and flattering reception, which I feel is more due to the patriotic work in which we are all engaged than to any personal merit of my own. Four years ago I stood on this very place pleading the cause of the Union and the Constitution against the combined efforts of Northern Abolitionists and Southern Secessionists, and advocating the election of the patriot and statesman, the lamented Douglas, against the then obscure candidate of a sectional party. The Democracy was defeated, and our country given up to civil war and desolation, because we had become divided by the selfish machinations of Southern Secessionists, aided by their misguided friends of the North, who broke up the Charleston convention. Permit me to discuss for a few moments the present political position of some of these former champions of Southern rights. I will not speak of the Southern leaders, who, under Jeff. Davis, are waging an unholy war against our government. Grant, Sherman, and Farragut will take care of them. Our business is with their former friends at the North. Here we have, first and foremost, Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, who, at Charleston, gave, during fifty-two ballots, his vote for Jeff. Davis, the only vote cast for him in the convention, and then left that body to sit in council with the Southern traitors. Then we have Daniel S. Dickinson, who denounced the Northern Democracy for not re-admitting, at Baltimore, the seceding delegates who, under the leadership of Yancey, had broken up the convention at Charleston. On our bended knees we ought to have entreated them to return—that was Mr. Dickinson's advice; and I am compelled to add here that estimable gentleman, John A. Dix, who, in 1860, advocated in an elaborate address to the convention more ultra Southern views than the Breckenridge platform itself, and who, as postmaster of James Buchanan, was the head and front of the Breckenridge organization in this city. The Abolition papers of this morning contain an address of General Dix of a very different character than the one just alluded to. Without entering here into the merits of that extraordinary document, permit me only to point your attention to the following proposition contained in that address:—

“An amendment of the Constitution which shall render the President ineligible after one term of service.”

In the face of this, Mr. Dix and his friends intend to vote for a second term of Mr. Lincoln. The general, after opposing in 1848 the regular Democratic nomination of General Cass, and in 1860 that of Stephen A. Douglas, will now show his consistency by voting for Lincoln in opposition to the principle laid down by himself.

Thus we find these gentlemen in the ranks of the Republican party arrayed under the black banner of Abolitionism against the party of the Union and the Constitution. The allurements of power and office are as irresistible to them under Lincoln as they were under Buchanan. They, and some lesser lights of the same stamp, are now joining with all the zeal of neophytes in the mad outcry raised by their new allies against the Democratic party and its noble leader, George B. McClellan. In the wake of these more prominent renegades from the Democratic faith, we have seen a call for a mass meeting, signed by a number of disappointed politicians, and a few nabobs of our city, who have added a few more millions to their wealth by this terrible war. Those gentlemen call themselves Democrats—Democrats of the Jacksonian school—and allege as the reason for not supporting our ticket, the wording of our platform and the character of our candidates. Now, permit me to detain you for a few moments in order to see by what right those gentlemen call themselves Democrats, and how much the Chicago platform has had to do with their support of Abraham Lincoln. Here we have in the first instance ex-Judge Pierrepont, who for the last three years has been the confidential friend and agent of Secretary Stanton, the bitter enemy of General McClellan; and it is said by those who profess to know, that this friendship has proved quite lucrative to the honorable ex-judge. Is it to be wondered that he should wish its continuance for four years more? Is it to be wondered that in his speech of last evening, reported in all the Abolition papers, he should assail, in a spirit of the bitterest partisanship, the character and services of General McClellan? His patron of the War Department has for the past two years persecuted with the most malignant hatred the man to whom the country owes the Army of the Potomac,—the general who twice saved the capital from the invading rebel forces, and who offered to share the fate of his comrades as a common soldier, when deprived of his command by the intrigues of Halleck and Stanton. Judge Pierrepont could not show his gratitude for past favors and favors to come more effectually than by his most unfair, personal attack on General McClellan. I had looked for this first public demonstration of the judge with a good deal of curiosity, as I had hoped to obtain by it some explanation in reply to a statement contained in the following article of *The World* newspaper, which I have not yet seen contradicted:—

"JUDGE PIERREPONT AND THE BOGUS WAR DEMOCRATS.

"The following letter comes to us indorsed by the signature of a gentleman whose name is at the service of Judge Pierrepont, if he desires a voucher for its authenticity. We confess our own surprise at its statements, and, in common with the public, should be glad to know what considerations have worked such a change in Judge Pierrepont's mind since September.

"PHILADELPHIA, October 25.

"To the Editor of the World:—

"My attention has been called to a manifesto addressed to 'War Democrats, and published in the New York *Tribune*,—a very singular medium of communication, one would suppose, with *Democrats* of any shade of opinion. Among the names of the signers to this document I perceive that of 'Edwards Pierrepont;' I have a few remarks to make touching him. We chanced to be fellow-passengers in the *Persia*, Cunard steamship, from Liverpool, in the month of September. We had not, upon our departure on September 10th, as yet learned who was the nominee of the Chicago Convention, and, of course, we were all very much excited upon the subject. There seemed to be but one or two administration men on the ship, out of some 180 or 190 passengers, the Democrats being very generally in favor of General McClellan for the nomination. This Judge Pierrepont, after holding back for some time, finally declared himself a Democrat of the strictest school. He said, however, that there was no earthly chance of the nomination of General McClellan; that the Democratic party *would not stultify itself by nominating any man who had any connection with this war*; that the war was an utter failure; that the only prospect of the salvation of the nation, or the restoration of the Union, lay in a *cessation of hostilities*, and a *general convention of all the States*. He said that none of these purposes could be accomplished without a *change of administration*, and that, therefore, it was the solemn duty of every patriot to *labor* for that *primary and fundamental object*, without which all efforts were fruitless, all hope vain of the salvation of our republican government. He said to me in conclusion: '*With a change of administration there might yet be a way to save the Republic entire; without it, it was past praying for.*'

"This was the substance of a conversation of two hours or more, in the presence of my wife, in all of which, as general propositions, I concurred, except that General McClellan *could not be nominated*. I assured the judge that he could and would, and *should be*, as he was, above and beyond any living man, the embodiment of the political necessities of the American people. Now, you may imagine my surprise to see the name of this same 'Edwards Pierrepont' in four short weeks after the earnest expression of the above-recited views, giving his name, and any influence he may possess, to the prolongation of that very policy, and the support of that identical administration, which he thus publicly declared would insure the downfall of the Republic.

"VIATOR."

What do you say to these sound principles of a war Democrat of the new school, who cannot support the Chicago platform, and must bolt the regular Democratic nominee to vote for Abraham Lincoln? Then you have the

member of Congress from the First District, the Hon. Mr. Stebbins, who has just resigned his seat, because he says that his opinions are no longer in unison with those of his constituents. I doubt very much if there ever existed any such unison between him and them. He was elected two years ago by the loyal Democracy of the First District, who, then, as they are now, were for the "Union at all hazards;" but were not in favor of Mr. Lincoln or the financial policy of his Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Stebbins, for many months after his election, was the avowed advocate of an immediate and unconditional peace, and I could cite here many good Democrats, personal friends of his, who had to use all their influence in order to make him withhold those pernicious views. I believe they succeeded so far as to make him, for a short time at least after he took his seat in Congress, as near to the mark of a sound Democrat as he ever was or ever will be. But we find him soon fascinated by the transcendent statesmanship of Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of State and the financial genius of Mr. Chase. So much so that his great effort in Congress is a grandiloquent eulogy of the irredeemable paper issue of the Secretary of the Treasury. And the Republican papers of this morning, selected for the first time for the diffusion of Democratic principles, contain a letter of his, in which he lectures the Democratic party for not doing justice to the efficiency and talent of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet. It will be refreshing to Messrs. Stanton and Welles to read praises from a Democratic pen, which their own party has not been willing to accord to them. Is it strange, after all this, that Mr. Stebbins does not agree in sentiment with his constituents? They seem to have come to that conclusion some time before he did, when they refused to put him in re-nomination for Congress. The Hon. F. B. Cutting can hardly claim that he leaves the Democratic party on account of our platform. Nobody can entertain personally a more sincere regard for that gentleman than I do; still we all know that he has not been with us since 1862, when we did, what we intend to do next Tuesday, elect Horatio Seymour governor of this State. Then you have the eccentric and venerable Mr. Peter Cooper, who appears in the character of a war Democrat, after having voted, in 1856, for Fremont, and in 1860 for Lincoln. Both Mr. Moses Taylor and Mr. A. T. Stewart signed, last spring, a circular in favor of Mr. Lincoln's re-election, and they probably forgot that circumstance, when they now profess to abandon our banner, because they profess to see lurking in its folds a disgraceful peace, notwithstanding that McClellan and Pendleton have inscribed on it: "The Union and the Constitution at all hazards; peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." The political antecedents of the other signers of that call are of the same questionable character: there is, for instance, Mr. William H. Webb, a wealthy ship-builder and government contractor, who builds magnificent vessels, for which he receives still more magnificent prices from Mr. Welles, but who has not voted a Democratic ticket for many a year.

But I have already dwelt too long on these proselytes to the Abolition faith. The great Democratic party cannot suffer from the attacks of this or any other set of men. It is the party which, by its unwavering adherence to the Constitution, and by its unflinching firmness and strict regard to treaty stipulations in all our domestic and foreign relations, had brought our country to a greatness and prosperity which had rendered it the admiration and envy of the nations of the earth, until, in an evil hour, the madness of sectional fanaticism placed Abraham Lincoln in the presidential chair. It was a Democratic administration which carried us triumphantly through the Mexican war, giving us the golden empire of the Pacific, soon to become the highway of the commerce of the East. It was a Democratic administration which resisted firmly and successfully British pretensions in Oregon and Central America. It was under a Democratic administration that American influence compelled Denmark to abandon the feudal Sound dues which for centuries she had imposed upon the commerce of the world. It was under a Democratic administration that Kozta was liberated from the claws of Austrian tyranny, proving to the world that our proud flag gave protection to the martyrs of liberty of all nations who sought asylum under its folds. I had the honor to represent our country abroad when Mr. Marcy wrote the Kozta letter, and my heart swelled with pride and gratitude that I could claim the title of an American citizen. How do we stand now, under Mr. Lincoln's administration, in our relations with the great powers of Europe—how are American rights respected and protected abroad?

We all remember, with shame and indignation, the case of Arguelles, a Spanish refugee, who was seized in this city by the Federal officers, and, without even the form of a trial, given up to the Cuban authorities. We have no extradition treaty with Spain, so that no possible excuse could exist for this arbitrary act of Mr. Seward. Of whatever crime Arguelles may have been accused in Cuba, I doubt whether modern history can point to a grosser outrage against the sacred right of asylum. Place the case of Kozta alongside that of Arguelles, and you obtain an idea of the difference between a Democratic and Republican administration. Had an occurrence like the famous Trent affair taken place when a Marcy or a Cass was at the head of the State department, those prisoners would have been surrendered at once, and by our free action, sent to England before they were claimed, if their capture was illegal; but if they were lawfully taken, the whole power of France and England could not have obtained their release from those Democratic statesmen, and the American people would have sustained them, if every city on our sea-board had been laid in ashes by the combined fleets of those great powers. Look at our commerce, the sails of which, four years ago, whitened every sea of both hemispheres—our commercial flag chased from the ocean by a few paltry privateers of the Confederates, who, if we had a competent Secretary of the Navy, should long ere this not have had

a single port either on the Atlantic or the Gulf. Can anybody doubt that, with an efficient navy under such men as Farragut, Dupont, Rogers, and Porter, we could have taken Charleston, Mobile, Savannah, and Wilmington within six months after the war began. But Mr. Welles, notwithstanding the immense resources placed at his disposal, gave to the rebels all the time they could possibly desire to make those ports the strongholds they now are.

The fact is, the present administration did not know how to preserve peace, nor does it know how to conquer it, notwithstanding the many victories gained on land and sea by our gallant navy and army. We have been told over and over again that the rebellion was on its last legs, that the people of the South are tired of the war, that their armies are demoralized and on the point of dispersing. Are we, for all this, any nearer to an honorable peace within the Union than we were three years ago? Has the administration tried to profit by the blood-stained laurels of McClellan, after the battle of Antietam; of Grant, when he took Vicksburg; of Farragut, when he took New Orleans, and placed Mobile at our mercy; of Sherman's glorious capture of Atlanta; of Meade's overwhelming victory at Gettysburg? No attempt at negotiation, no proffer of an honorable settlement which (even if under the military terrorism of Jeff. Davis it should not have led to immediate peace) would, at least, have strengthened the Union party at the South, and given them power, with the aid of the strong arm of the Federal forces, to free themselves of their tyrannical leaders.

And this, gentlemen, is the only way in which we can ever hope to restore the Union, and bring peace and prosperity to our common country. Give to the South the choice of an honorable peace under the Union and the Constitution, or a fruitless struggle against the irresistible power of a united North, and you will see State after State leave the confederacy of Jefferson Davis, and return to their allegiance under the Union. But who can doubt that the South will fight to the last extremity if the fatal policy of confiscation and forcible emancipation is to be persisted in, and that is the policy to which Mr. Lincoln and his party are pledged, should they be able to keep themselves in power.

Thus the war is to become a war of subjugation or extermination—and do you know what it means to conquer and subjugate a nation of six millions of freemen? It took the ablest generals of republican France more than ten years before they could subjugate the small department of the Vendee, which was only finally pacified by the great Napoleon himself. The whole power of Russia, with its colossal military despotism, was nearly half a century before conquering the small province of Circassia. Poland and Hungary were not subjugated by the sword of Russia and Austria alone, but tardy concessions had to assist in their pacification.

Look at what we have achieved ourselves in three and a half years, with a sacrifice of nearly four hundred thousand men and the accumulation of a

national debt of \$2,000,000,000. Our army and navy have earned immortal glory and the lasting gratitude of their countrymen by their devotion and heroism, and yet, though we hold the Mississippi and several important points on the Atlantic and the Gulf, we are far from having the conquest of the South within our grasp. Grant, whose bravery is only equalled by his stubborn tenacity, has, with the largest and best army ever placed under one man on this continent, and with the power and resources of a patriotic people to back him, not yet taken Richmond, after six months, and the sacrifice of over one hundred thousand of our best troops.

Can any one, after all these heart-rending experiences, have any doubts as to the fearful calamities in store for us, if Mr. Lincoln should succeed in having himself re-elected—a war to the knife between the two sections, until the weaker is exterminated, and the other left in the agonies of exhaustion; a whole generation swept away; a national debt accumulated, such as few nations have ever been burdened with, and entailing the disgrace and miseries of national bankruptcy, or else, for generations to come, a load of taxation which must undermine our labor and industry, and reduce our laboring classes to poverty and pauperism.

In the face of all these evidences, clear as the light of day to every mind which is not blinded by corruption or fanaticism, the Democratic party, as well as its candidates, are denounced by an unscrupulous party press as disloyal, and as the open allies of the rebels, because we expect to conquer an honorable peace within the Union and the Constitution, instead of following the mad career to ruin under the lead of sectional fanatics. While the Democratic generals are fighting our battles, while Grant, Meade, and Hancock are pushing on toward Richmond, and while the gallant Sherman is driving Beauregard before him, and the dashing Sheridan is gathering fresh laurels, we see some Republican generals of Mr. Lincoln try their prowess on a more peaceful field of battle. Hooker, when last heard from, was operating in Illinois, in the new character of a stump-speaker; General Burnside is busy here making speeches in favor of Lincoln and abolition, both undoubtedly hoping for a better result in November than they were able to achieve at Chancellorsville and Fredericksburg. Thus the Democratic party and its leaders stand where they have always stood—"for the Union, the Constitution, and the law"—alike opposed to Southern Secessionists and Northern fanaticism.

A leading journal in this city, which has maintained in this presidential contest a strict neutrality—a neutrality in which, I am sorry to say, my humble self does not appear to have been included—has found fault with our party for not having declared in favor of a more vigorous foreign policy, and the re-affirmation of the Monroe doctrine. I need not tell you, my Democratic fellow-citizens, that the Democratic party does not undertake more than one great task at a time. Let us first restore the Union

and the Constitution, and then we will settle our other accounts. General McClellan has pledged himself and the party "for the Union at all hazards." Our candidate for the Vice-Presidency has declared for the restoration of the Union and the Constitution, "peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must." On that platform we intend to elect them, and redeem their pledges to the American people and the world, and when once again we shall, by the blessing of the Almighty, be a reunited and powerful people of freemen, then the Democracy of this mighty Union will say to the powers of the earth, that the North American continent was intended for Republican institutions, and that the temple of liberty raised by the fathers of the Republic must span its dome from ocean to ocean, and from the lakes to the isthmus.

And now, gentlemen, let me entreat you, in conclusion, to use every honorable means within your power in order to accomplish the great work before us. In six days from now the life or death of this great Republic will be decided. Let the Empire City be, as ever, true to the Union and the Constitution; let us roll up a majority of forty thousand for McClellan and Pendleton, that the sun of the 8th of November may, under a benignant Providence, set upon a free and redeemed people, and a new era of greatness and prosperity follow the dark days through which we are now passing.

SPEECH AT THE NEW YORK CONVENTION.

JULY 4, 1868.

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION,—It is my privilege to-day to welcome you here in this hall, constructed with so much artistic taste, and tendered to you by the time-honored Society of Tammany. I welcome you to this magnificent temple, erected to the Goddess of Liberty by her staunchest defenders and most fervent worshippers. I welcome you to this good city of New York, the bulwark of Democracy, which has rolled back the surging waves of radicalism through all the storms of the last eight years, and I welcome you, gentlemen, to our Empire State, which last fall redeemed herself from Republican misrule by a majority of nearly fifty thousand votes, and which claims the right to lead the vanguard of victory in the great battle to be fought next November for the preservation of our institutions, our laws, and our liberties.

It is a most auspicious omen that we meet under such circumstances, and are surrounded by such associations, and I share your own confident hope of the overwhelming success of the ticket, and the platform which will be the result of your deliberations. For it is to the American people that our appeal lies. Their final judgment will be just. The American people will no longer remain deaf to the teachings of the past. They will remember that it was under successive Democratic administrations, based upon our national principles, the principles of Constitutional liberty, that our country rose to a prosperity and greatness unsurpassed in the annals of history ; they will remember the days when North and South marched shoulder to shoulder together in the conquest of Mexico, which gave us our golden empire on the Pacific, our California and our Oregon, now the strongholds of a triumphant Democracy ; they will remember the days when peace and plenty reigned over the whole Union, when we had no national debt to crush the energies of the people, when the Federal tax-gatherer was unknown throughout the vast extent of the land, and when the credit of the United States stood as high in the money marts of the world as that of any other government ; and they will remember, with a wise sorrow, that, with the downfall of the Democratic party, in 1860, came that fearful civil war which has brought mourning and desolation into every household ; has cost the loss of a million of American citizens, and has left us with a national debt, the burden of which drains the resources, crip-

ples the industry, and impoverishes the labor of the country. They will remember that, after the fratricidal strife was over, when the bravery of our army and navy and the sacrifices of the people had restored the Union, and vindicated the supremacy of the law, when the victor and the vanquished were equally ready to bury the past, and to hold out the hand of brotherhood and good-will across the graves of their fallen comrades, it was again the defeat of the Democratic candidates in 1864 which prevented this consummation so devoutly wished for by all.

Instead of restoring the Southern States to their Constitutional rights, instead of trying to wipe out the miseries of the past by a magnanimous policy, dictated alike by humanity and sound statesmanship, and so ardently prayed for by the generous heart of the American people, the Radicals in Congress, elected in an evil hour, have placed the iron heel of the conqueror upon the South. Austria did not dare to fasten upon Hungary, nor Russia to impose upon conquered Poland, the ruthless tyranny now inflicted by Congress upon the Southern States. Military satraps are invested with dictatorial power, overriding the decisions of the courts, and assuming the functions of the civil authorities, the whole population are disfranchised or forced to submit to test oaths alike revolting to justice and civilization; and a debased and ignorant race, just emerged from servitude, is raised into power to control the destinies of that fair portion of our common country.

These men, elected to be legislators, and legislators only, trampling the Constitution under their feet, have usurped the functions of the executive and the judiciary, and it is impossible to doubt, after the events of the past few months, and the circumstances of the impeachment trial, that they will shrink from an attempt hereafter to subvert the Senate of the United States, which alone stood between them and their victim, and which had virtue enough left not to allow the American name to be utterly disgraced, and justice to be dragged in the dust.

In order to carry out this nefarious programme, our army and navy are kept in times of profound peace on a scale which involves a yearly expenditure of from one to two hundred millions, prevents the reduction of our national debt, and imposes upon our people a system of the most exorbitant and unequal taxation, with a vicious, irredeemable, and depreciated currency. And now this same party, which has brought all these evils upon the country, comes again before the American people, asking for their suffrages. And whom has it chosen for its candidate? The general commanding the armies of the United States. Can there be any doubt left as to the designs of the Radicals, if they should be able to keep their hold on the reins of government? *They intend Congressional usurpation of all the branches and functions of the government, to be enforced by the bayonets of a military despot-*

It is impossible that a free and intelligent people can longer submit to such a state of things. They will not calmly stand by to see their liberties subverted, the prosperity and greatness of their country undermined, and the institutions bequeathed to them by the fathers of the Republic wrested from them. They must see that the conservative and national principles of a liberal and progressive Democracy are the only safeguards of the Republic. Gentlemen of the Convention, your country looks to you to stay this tide of disorganization, violence, and despotism. It will not look in vain, when next November the roll shall be called, and when State after State shall respond, by rallying around the broad banner of Democracy, on which, in the future, as in the past, will be inscribed our undying motto, "*The Union, the Constitution, and the Laws.*"

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